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THE

ONE PRIMEVAL LANGUAGE

TRACED EXPERIMENTALLY THROUGH

Ancient Inscriptions

IN

ALPHABETIC CHARACTERS OF LOST POWERS FROM THE FOUR CONTINENTS:

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INCLUDING

THE VOICE OF ISRAEL FROM THE ROCKS OF SINAI:

AND THE VESTIGES OF PATRIARCHAL TRADITION FROM THE MONUMENTS OF EGYPT, ETRURIA, AND SOUTHERN ARABIA.

2279

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE PLATES, A HARMONIZED TABLE OF ALPHABETS, GLOSSARIES, AND TRANSLATIONS.

BY THE REV. CHARLES FORSTER, B.D.,

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AUTHOR OF
"MAHOMETANISM UNVEILED,"
AND OF
"THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ARABIA."

H C

And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech.
GENESIS.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
1854.

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Πρῶτον μὲν πάντων παρακαλῶ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐντυγχάνειν τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ, ἵνα μετὰ πάσης προσοχῆς καὶ ἐπιμελείας τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ποιήσωνται, καὶ μὴ παρέργως αὐτὴν διαδράμεῖν. — COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES.

"Rude societies have language, and often copious and energetic language; but they have no scientific grammar, no definitions of nouns and verbs, no names for declensions, moods, tenses, and voices."— MACAULAY'S *History of England.*

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A. & G. A. SPOTTISWOODE,
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ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

THE sense of the English Public has now twice been taken upon the subject of the present work; and its general interest has been attested, on both occasions, by the most unequivocal marks of public favour. The wide and germinating circulation of the first two Parts, affords clearest proof that this interest has arisen from no accidental or ephemeral cause: that it has its root in the intrinsic importance of the subject itself, as one vitally linked, not only with the history of mankind, but with the truths of Revelation. From the Word of God we learn that there was a time, when "the whole earth was of one language and one speech;" and as there is abundant reason to infer, both from the nature of the case, and from the internal evidences of so many languages, that the confusion of tongues at Babel was only dialectic, it follows that all who implicitly receive the testimony of God's Word, must believe all the languages of the

human family to be traceable to that one Primeval source: in a word, to the language of the world before the Flood.

In the present work, the soundness of this great first principle of philology has been already tested experimentally, at Sinai, and in Egypt; and, to the public at large, the experimental results appear practically to have demonstrated its truth. From Sinai and Egypt I would now invite the reader to direct his attention eastwards, and cross with me the Euphrates. In entering upon this new and strange field, at once the seat of three of the greatest empires of the ancient world, and of three of the most mysterious vehicles of thought and speech, I would begin by affirming, what I am prepared, I trust, to prove, that we change the characters, but not the language.

The essays of philologists to penetrate the mysteries of unknown tongues, and illegible characters, have been hitherto, almost uniformly, based upon the sands of unsupported theory, and prosecuted in the spirit of unchecked speculation. Instead of substantive proof being made the sole groundwork of conviction, in the great majority of cases, if the reader will only pause

thoughtfully to ask himself why he believes, he will find the only answer he has to give is this, Because his Guide-Book tells him it is so. If he will be at the additional pains to cross-examine his witness, he may further discover, that the reasonings upon which he has been resting are, too commonly, a series, not of proofs, but of postulates: that points vitally fundamental, in each successive theory, are constantly assumed, by each theorist, as known and conceded, without any authority whatsoever beyond the assumption.

To close the door effectually against such endless illusions, some test, some check, by which mere conjecture could be tried, was clearly indispensable. This check I found for my own safeguard in the principle of legend and device; a principle of all primitive record-writing, which, once discovered, I was in duty bound to employ for the safeguard of others. In the present volume, accordingly, as in the two preceding Parts of the work, my decypherments will be mainly directed and confined to pictorial Monuments and Inscriptions.

Another law and limit of inquiry, although already laid down (Part II. pp. 75, 76.) is so

important as to demand and justify restatement here: "I would premise once for all, that the object proposed throughout the present work is, not the theoretical reconstruction of an unknown scientific grammar, but the experimental recovery of a lost vocabulary. This is the Baconian principle, the only true one: a principle as applicable to philology as to philosophy: which would arrive at general conclusions by an induction of facts, instead of vainly seeking after facts through the medium of preconceived general conclusions. If we have the vocabulary of a language, even to a very moderate extent, we have its alphabet: if we have the alphabet and vocabulary, we have, at least, the seeds of its grammar. This grammar, in all primitive tongues, as the reason of the case might well prepare us to anticipate, will, it is believed, invariably be found of the simplest conceivable kind and construction."

This last position, it is obvious to remark, runs counter to the universal practice of modern oriental philology; but, in so doing, it runs consonant with the first principles of common sense. To employ a complex grammar to decypher a simple language, is, as was wittily remarked by a friend, "to apply a Chubb key to a Bramah lock."

The monumental language of Assyria, or Babylonia, or Persia, like that of all infant and barbarous nations, self-convicted of inanity by the endless tautologies, contains no literature, and can be intrinsically of little worth. But Assyria in another light, as "the Land of the Captivity," assumes an interest of a very different kind. Thither were first carried the long-lost Tribes of Israel; and from thence, we learn from the sure word of Prophecy, those Tribes shall one day triumphantly return. The glorious theme appeals to the hearts of all true believers; and leads the thoughts onwards towards the promised time, when God "will bring Israel again to his habitation." Such were the thoughts awakened by study of the monuments of Nineveh; and from their study I was first led to the Inquiry, the results of which are given at the close of this volume.

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PART III.

THE

MONUMENTS

OF

ASSYRIA, BABYLONIA, AND PERSIA:

WITH

A NEW KEY

FOR THE

RECOVERY OF THE LOST TEN TRIBES.

THE

MONUMENTS

OF

ASSYRIA, BABYLONIA, AND PERSIA.

In the First and Second Parts of the present work, its principle, namely, the dialectic character of the Confusion of Tongues at Babel, and the consequent reducibleness of all the original post-diluvian dialects to the one primeval language, has been experimentally tested and verified at Sinai and in Egypt: fields of inquiry, in which the antecedent presumptions, and the actual phenomena, meet together to establish the proof of this principle, in ways, and with a completeness, without parallel in any third example. For, while the whole antecedent circumstances, not merely justify, but force upon all unbiassed minds, the conviction,

that "Israel in Egypt" would speak in the language, and, if she wrote, would write in the characters, of the country of her adoption and abode*; the facts of the case, on comparing its phenomena, present physical proof, and ocular demonstration, of the soundness of this conviction. To those facts I would briefly revert, before entering upon another field.

1. In the traced alphabetical synopsis, Plate I. Part I. of this work, the popular or cursive alphabets of Egypt and Sinai, technically denominated "enchorial," exhibit, to a large extent, not only close resemblance, but absolute identity of forms. 2. The powers of these forms, as tested experimentally, first at Sinai, and then in Egypt, prove, as might reasonably be fore-

* Upon no one point, perhaps, connected with Israel in Egypt, has the spirit of special pleading been more busy than upon this; yet the New Testament supplies an exemplification of the only true principle, which ought to put all special pleading, on this subject, to silence. The Day of Pentecost affords amplest evidence to confute, if not "to convince, the gainsayer." "How hear we *every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born*, Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians, we do hear them speak, *in our tongues*, the wonderful works of God."

Here are Jews, "out of every nation under heaven," all speaking, not Hebrew, but "their own tongues, the tongues wherein they were born;" and all thereby bearing witness to the self-evincing fact, that Israel in Egypt used the Egyptian tongue, "their own tongue, wherein they were born."

seen, to be also identical: the twofold train of experimental decypherments uniformly evincing the common forms to possess common powers. 3. But this identity of form and power is not limited to the enchorial characters; it embraces, also, to a considerable extent, the hieroglyphic alphabet of Egypt; many of whose characters are homogeneous, and some identical, in their forms, with the enchorial.

With regard to Egypt, what is here briefly stated, has been already largely established (Part II.), on the sure principle of legend and device, throughout a series of experimental decypherments from her pictorial monuments.*

* The need of pictorial illustrations, or hieroglyphic symbols, in all the primitive tongues, can be demonstrated from the Hebrew of the Old Testament itself, in the uncertainty as to its interpretation so often disclosed by our own authorized version, and its marginal readings. For example, it was found impossible, in many instances, to decide with any certainty, whether one or another given Hebrew word, was, or was not, a proper name. Accordingly, all such doubtful terms are doubly rendered. Now, had pictures accompanied the Hebrew text, as in Egypt, and sometimes at Sinai, all doubt and difficulty would have disappeared. The picture would settle the question. Again, in the Hebrew Bible, doubt has often arisen, as in the instances of the terms בְּהֵמוֹת, *Behemoth* שְׁלָו, *Sulu*, and many more, as to the kind of creature so designated. How instantly would this have been obviated by the device placed beside the legend.

The name בְּהֵמוֹת, *Behemoth*, and the species of animal designed by this much-disputed term of the book of Job, will supply an exemplification of this last remark singularly in point. The arguments of Bochart in favour of the *hippopotamus*, and of Schultens in favour of the *elephant*, have been impartially balanced by Mr. Parkhurst; who justly observes, "that most of the characters given of the Behemoth will correspond also

With reference to Sinai, I would now only observe, that, so far as the characters are in common, the evidence of the Egyptian experi-

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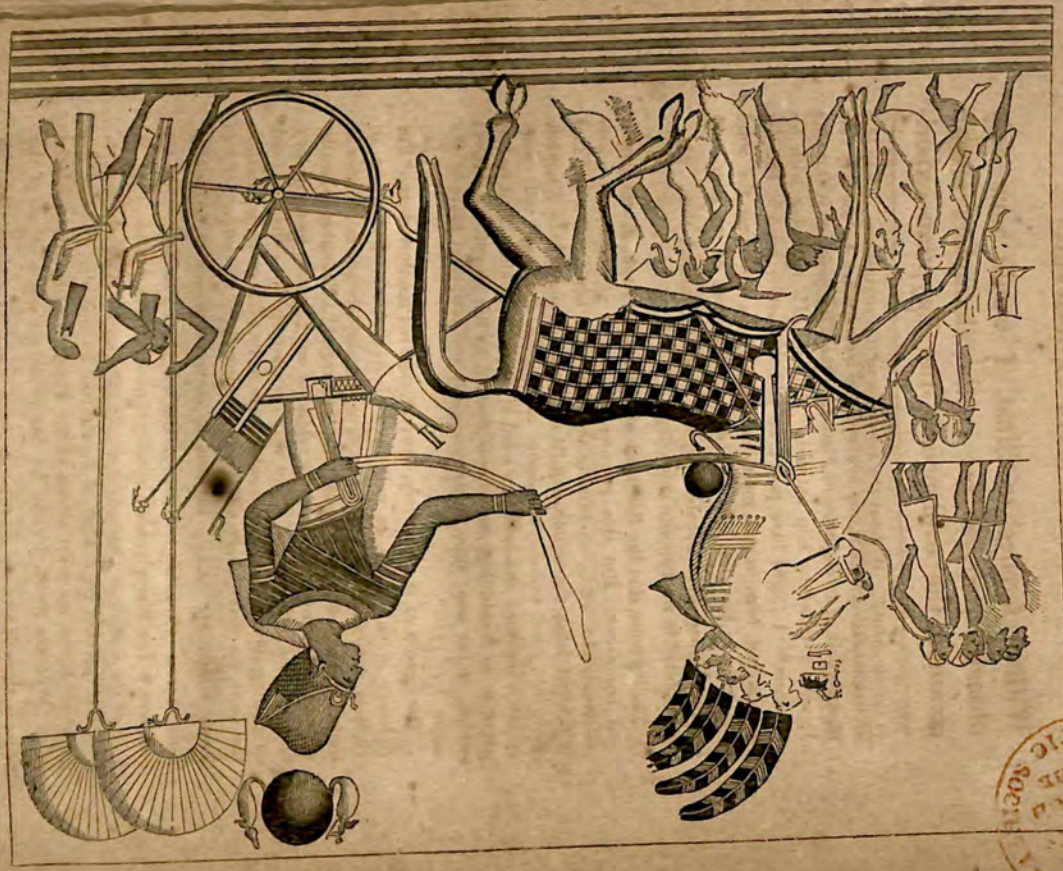
to the elephant." Without any reference to this controversy, or any idea of its connection with it, my eye one day was arrested by the very rare hieroglyphic of an elephant, in Plate I. of the First Series of Wilkinson's Egypt; a tablet by him entitled, "Remeses III. returning with his prisoners." I might have passed on without further remark, had not my interest been raised most unexpectedly by observing the word *Behemoth*, in the clear and well defined characters of my previously formed hieroglyphic alphabet, disposed beside the animal, thus, as exhibited in the opposite engraving.

The inference that the Behemoth of Job was the elephant, was natural and immediate. But this presumption seemed advanced still nearer towards proof, when, on turning to Parkhurst's Lexicon, I found that "Bochart takes the termination ם to a *masculine* noun, to be *Egyptian*, as in *Σωθ*, *φαωθ*, *Φαμενωθ*, the names of *Egyptian* months;" and, consequently, regarded *Behemoth* as a word of *Egyptian* origin. That he was right in so concluding, seems now decided by this Egyptian example; which, at the same time, settles *pictorially* the Scriptural sense of the name.

The interest of the discovery, however, does not terminate here. For *Behemoth* is an Arabic, as well as a Hebrew word. But while, in Hebrew, it occurs not as a verb, and, as a noun substantive, its sense is limited to the definition "Beast" or "Quadruped," a definition evidently without any appropriateness to the subject of our Egyptian hieroglyphic; in Arabic, on the contrary, it not only occurs both as a derivative from an existing root, and as a noun substantive in its Hebrew sense; but, in the sense, moreover, above all others appropriate to the subject of the above tablet, *viz.* بَهِمَةٌ, Invictus et strenuus miles: *et* invincibilis eques, heros. *An unconquered and valiant warrior: an invincible horseman and hero.* The hieroglyphic elephant, thus explained by this word, in front of the victorious Pharaoh, assuredly requires no other explanation. The bird perched on a kind of *howdah* on its neck, is probably the peregrine falcon, the royal ensign of the Pharaohs; and symbolizes the king. With the Arabic lexicon for our guide, the whole subject of the tablet is thus lighted up by this one word, بَهِمَةٌ, or *Behemoth*, and its accompanying hieroglyphic of the elephant.



ments (Part II.), reflects back with great corroborative force upon my previous, and wholly independent decypherments (Part I.) of the Sinaïtic inscriptions: I mean, that every common word or character experimentally determined, by pictorial decypherments, in Egypt, becomes *ipso facto* determined at Sinai.

The vital importance to the cause of truth, and the settlement of conviction, of this self-demonstrative canon, will soon be found and felt by the more studious reader. For whoever will be at the pains to collate words and characters common to the Sinaïtic inscriptions, and the Egyptian monuments, must, in so doing, progressively augment for themselves the proof of the Egyptian origin, and Israelitish authorship, of those inscriptions; and, by necessary consequence, must strengthen increasingly the evidences for the correctness, in the main, of the decypherments already submitted to the English public, and the Christian world, in "The Voice of Israel from the Rocks of Sinai."

While thus respectfully inviting the co-operation of others towards the still clearer establishment of truths, in which all are alike interested who hold revealed religion dear, the author must express his own well-weighed and entire conviction, that the avenues for arriving at com-

plete and final conclusions are, under Providence, now open to us ; that the materials for forming those conclusions are in our hands; and that, whenever the time for this accomplishment shall arrive, the result will gloriously vindicate the literal fidelity of the books of Moses, and the historical exactness of all that purports to be historical in "THE SCRIPTURES OF TRUTH."

The stage of the general subject at which we have now arrived, reconducts us, from Sinai and Egypt, to a still more ancient scene—"the plain of Shinar:" to the spot where that judgment from Heaven was inflicted, which first broke the unity of speech, and, by necessary consequence, that of the human family.

In entering upon this ground, we come with the advantage of the antecedent probability, that the primitive language underwent least change, among those who remained stationary in this first settlement of mankind after the Flood. This probability seems sustained by the nature and reason of the case; for, as it was those who could no longer understand their fellow-builders who removed*, it is but natural to infer, that those who remained could still understand each other, and remained together because they could.

* "The bricks at Susa are also stamped with inscriptions *in the primitive Babylonian character.*"— Rawlinson, ubi infra, p. 29. n. 1.

Economy of miracle being a known law of Providence, the consideration just noticed supplies a strong presumption in favour of the idea, that the people of Shinar were comparatively unaffected by the judgment; and, consequently, that, in the land of Shinar we may, not unreasonably, expect to find one of the least adulterated relics of the primeval tongue.* But

* "Those who have studied the subject with most care (and I would particularly instance M. Botta, the discoverer of the Nineveh marbles) have arrived at the conviction, that all the inscriptions in the complicated cuneiform character do, in reality belong *to one alphabetical system*; and they further believe the variations which are perceptible in the different modes of writing to be analogous, in a general measure, to the varieties of hand and text, which characterize the graphic and glyphic arts of the present day."[a]

"The Babylonian is unquestionably the most ancient of the three great classes of cuneiform writing. It is well known, that legends in this character are stamped upon the bricks, which are excavated from the foundations of all the buildings in Mesopotamia, Babylon, and Chaldæa, that possess the highest and most authentic claims to antiquity; and it is hardly extravagant, therefore, to assign its invention to the primitive race which settled in the plains of Shinar."— *Rawlinson, ap. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x. part 1., *Prelim. Rem.*, p. 20.

"The complicated cuneiform character may, I think, be divided into three distinct groups: — Babylonian, Assyrian, and Elymæan; and the two former of these groups will again admit of subdivision into minor branches. Of the Babylonian, there are only two marked varieties; the character of the cylinders may be considered as the type of the one, that of the third column of the trilingual [*triliteral?*] inscriptions of Persia of the other. The former is, probably, the primitive cuneiform alphabet. It is, also, of extensive application: it is found upon the bricks which compose the foundations of the primæval cities of Shinar; at Babylon, at Erech, at Accad, and at Calneh; and, if the Birsi-Nimrúd be admitted to represent the tower of Babel, an identification which is sup-

[a] Compare *Rich's Babylon and Persepolis*, pp. 183—185.

the rise of the Assyrian Empire, (the oldest in the world,) in this very land, would naturally diffuse, both its spoken, and its written language: a presumption fully borne out by the phenomenon of those very singular characters, originating doubtless in Assyria, but used in common by the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Medes, and the Persians, in after times. For whatever the circumstancial differences in this whole class of characters, it is beyond rational doubt that they are of one family, and traceable to one stock.

Pliny, who regards alphabetic characters as coeval with *time*, and, consequently, as co-existent with *mankind*, has recorded his opinion (an opinion unconsciously tallying with the Scriptural account of the first post-diluvian settlement), that ASSYRIA was their birth-place: "literas semper arbitror Assyrias fuisse."*

A judgment so consonant with Scripture history, from so high a heathen authority, would naturally have directed attention, after the revival of letters in Europe, had those remote parts been then accessible, to "the plain of Shinar;" and to the recovery of any relics of Assyrian

ported, not merely by the character of the monument, but by the universal belief of the early Talmudists, it must, in the substructure of that edifice, embody *the vernacular dialect of Shinar*, at the period when 'the earth was of one language, and of one speech.'"— *Rawlinson, ubi supra*, p. 22.

* Hist. Nat. Lib. vii. cap. lvii.

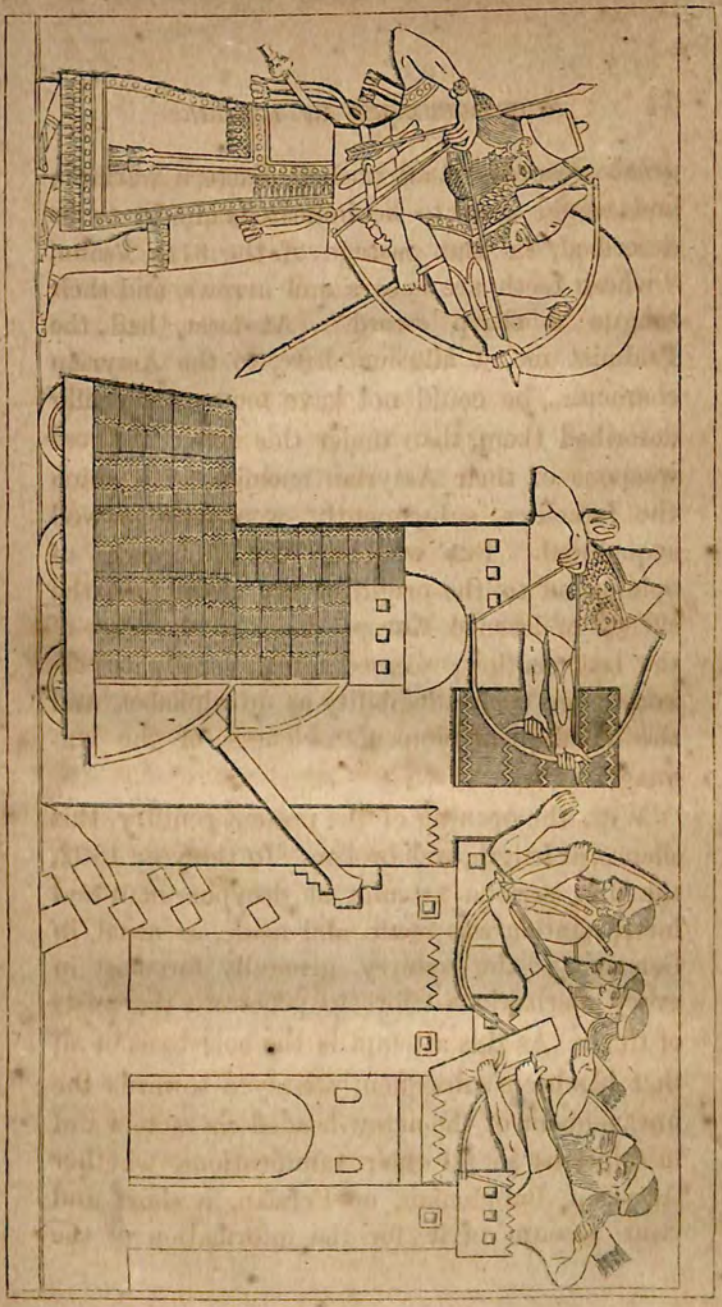
characters which, possibly, might still exist, whether at the seat of empire, or in its provinces. It was not, however, until a comparatively recent period, that those characters appear, for the first time, to have met the eye of the European traveller. And Sir John Chardin, in the 17th century, seems first to have brought home a specimen or two; and Dr. Shaw and Niebuhr, in the 18th, to have been the first to copy any of the few larger inscriptions.

If the novelty of these characters served to stimulate the curiosity of the learned, their strangeness would appear to have effectually repelled investigation. They were sonorously denominated, indeed, in terms, to unlearned readers, almost as enigmatical as themselves, *clavi-formed*, or nail-headed, *cludi-formed*, or key-headed, *cuneiform*, or wedge-shaped, from supposed resemblance to one or other of those implements, or conceived derivation from them. While the only sensible and significant name and origin, early and judiciously assigned in the term *arrow-headed*, has been of late capriciously laid aside, in favour of the unmeaning denomination from the wedge. The forms themselves, however, to the common eye, most plainly represent barbed arrow-heads and javelin-heads intermixed*, the

* See the engraving facing this page, and the engraving facing p. 14.

great weapons of all ancient Eastern warfare; and would seem to be indicated, almost to be described, in that passage of the 37th Psalm, "whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword." At least, had the Psalmist meant allusion, here, to the Assyrian characters, he could not have more graphically described them, than under this image of those weapons of their Assyrian enemies, with which the Israelites, subsequently, were only to well acquainted. But whatever the differences of opinion as to the origin of the characters, the silence of learned Europe, down to the close of the last century, seemed unequivocally to acknowledge their illegibility as an alphabet, and the consequent impenetrableness of the language.

With the opening of the present century, this silence, at length, was broken. In the year 1802, the first serious attempt at decypherment and interpretation was made, and made, as usual, in Germany; the country generally foremost in every meritorious effort to penetrate the mists of time. As this attempt is the sole basis of all that has been subsequently essayed towards the unravelment of the arrow-headed characters and inscriptions in all their ramifications, whether Assyrian, Babylonian, or Persian, a short and clear account of it, for the information of the



general reader, is indispensable at the outset of any fresh investigation. To this object, therefore, I shall address and confine myself in the first instance.

In the year 1802, the ingenious author of this attempt, Professor Grotefend of Halle, first announced to the world the discovery which he conceived himself to have made of a key to the alphabet of the simplest species of the arrow-headed inscriptions of Persepolis, obtained by the detection of the proper names DARIUS and XERXES, and the patronymic, HYSTASPES,* on two tablets in this character, published by Niebuhr (vol. ii. tab. xxiv. B. and G.). These elements of the alphabet, the Professor, subsequently, stated himself to have enlarged, by the recovery of the name of CYRUS in a cuneïform inscription, copied by Sir Gore Ouseley, and by James Morier, Esq., from a pillar at Morghâb,

* The statement of the confessed groundwork of the whole system of discovery, originating with Grotefend, and adopted and enlarged only by his successors, brings the question of its soundness, or unsoundness, to a very narrow issue. The whole question turns upon the one point, viz. whether Grotefend has, or has not, found out the names, *Cyrus*, *Darius*, *Xerxes*, &c., upon the arrow-headed tablets. If he has not, or even if the point be doubtful, his groundwork, and with it the entire superstructure subsequently erected on it, is gone. It is not enough for readers to be apprized of this; they must, if they would guard themselves against the illusive influences of the developed theory, keep it constantly in mind.

believed by Mr. Morier (and with high probability) to be the ancient Pasargada.

To obviate any possibility of mistatement, the process by which the learned Professor arrived at these results shall be given in his own words.

Before following any guide, however, into an unknown country, it is obviously desirable that we should acquaint ourselves with the amount of his qualifications, and with the measure of his experience. It may be well, therefore, to preface his own account of his process, with his own representation of his title, from previous acquirements, and prolonged investigation, to anticipate or promise success in such an undertaking.

1. His antecedent qualifications for the task before him, Mr. Grotefend thus modestly describes:—"I shall only observe, that if I flatter myself with having succeeded in deciphering the first specimen of Persepolitan character, it can scarcely, in fairness, be required of me to furnish, also, a satisfactory explanation of the writing itself, though it is too much the general custom to confound the business of a decipherer with that of an interpreter. *Being little acquainted with the Oriental languages*, I have merely endeavoured to determine the value of each sign by a species of logical induction, founded on a

comparison of all the cognate inscriptions, and the different combinations of their characters. The way being once laid open, it will be the appropriate task of the Orientalist alone to furnish a complete interpretation of the writing, now first rendered legible: it were too much to call upon the decipherer himself to prove the validity of his system by engaging in such an attempt; particularly when there is no such thing as a dictionary or grammar of the deciphered language in existence, but only a few detached fragments."

Again, "*Not being myself sufficiently versed in the Oriental languages* to pronounce decisively on this point, I shall merely add, that M. de Sacy himself has confessed his complete failure in every attempt to give the characters another signification."

And again, "As it might prove interesting to know how a person, *without any profound acquaintance with Oriental languages*, has been able to decipher a species of Asiatic writing of the most remote antiquity, of which the alphabet, the language, and the contents, were equally unknown, I may as well enter into a few details relative to the history of my interpretation."

2. His casual introduction to the subject of the arrow-headed inscriptions, and the limited

amount of time and thought bestowed upon it, are thus ingenuously stated: — "I cannot omit expressing my obligations to my fellow-helper and friend M. Fiorillo, at that time secretary to the library, and afterwards *Magister legens* at Göttingen, *who first persuaded me to attempt deciphering these inscriptions*, and assisted me with his advice *for the first eight or fifteen days* in which I was busied in establishing the general principles."

Now, with regard to these admissions, although, in the first place, comparative unacquaintedness with the Oriental languages may not be positive disqualification for the office of a decypherer, because a man may accidentally discover the true powers of the letters of an alphabet, who has no knowledge whatever of the language to which it belongs: and although, secondly, a few days' application at the instance of a friend, to a new and wholly unknown subject, may, by possibility, give birth to great results: yet, neither preliminary, assuredly, is calculated, antecedently, to inspire confidence, or to supersede the most guarded caution. It is with great caution, therefore, and grave consideration, that the inquirer after truth will approach an argument thus originating; will examine into its groundwork; will see whether it be substantive; and prove the sound-

ness of the first, before he takes the second step.

In this spirit I would, now, myself approach, and would invite my readers also to approach, Professor Grotefend's own account of the process by which he professes to have restored to light the arrow-headed alphabet; and, consequently, claims to have opened the way to all subsequent inquiry into the languages of Persia, Babylon, and Assyria.

In thus proceeding to investigate, anew, the grounds and claims to acceptance of the German Professor's whole system of decypherment, I would observe only in passing, that the settlement of the entire question here at issue, is necessarily included in the result of this investigation: inasmuch as every subsequent essay towards the further decypherment and interpretation of the arrow-headed inscriptions, is avowedly based upon Professor Grotefend's system. As this fact, however, is matter of vital moment, with reference to final conclusions upon this branch of the general subject of the present work, it is essential that the reader should be fully aware of the fact of the acknowledgment and adoption of Grotefend's discoveries, by the most prominent labourers who have followed in this field. I shall, therefore, prefix to his own account, the testi-

mony borne by Professor Heeren, and the tribute paid by Colonel Rawlinson, to Grotefend, as the founder of the whole modern school of arrow-headed philology.

"Up to the present time (observes Professor Heeren) no person has succeeded in refuting M. Grotefend's method of explanation; for dogmatic assertions prove nothing to the contrary, even when emitted by Oriental scholars. In England, on the other hand, *his method has been generally recognised as correct.* It is no business of mine to undertake the defence of M. Grotefend: he has already done it himself to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind. Within these few years, however, a decided adversary to his system presented himself in the person of the late M. Saint-Martin; who read before the Asiatic Society of Paris a Memoir relative to the ancient inscription of Persepolis, an extract from which is given in the *Journal Asiatique* for February, 1823. But, if I may be allowed to judge from a perusal of this extract, M. Grotefend has every reason to congratulate himself in meeting with such an opponent; who, so far from confuting his interpretations, actually appears to confirm them in their essential points. What Saint-Martin finds fault with in Grotefend, is confined, chiefly, to his method of deciphering

certain characters (which the critic asserts to have been too arbitrary), and to his explanations of a few words. In other respects, *Saint-Martin himself adopts the whole system of M. Grotefend;* allows him the credit of *having first correctly read the names of the kings*, WHICH FURNISHED A CLUE TO THE REST OF THE ALPHABET; and in his explanations, a few points of secondary importance excepted, *comes to precisely the same conclusions as the German scholar.* According to M. Saint-Martin, the inscription relating to Xerxes reads thus: 'Xerxes, the powerful king, king of kings, son of king Darius, of an illustrious race.' According to Grotefend, 'Xerxes, the valiant king, king of kings, son of Darius the king, successor of the sovereign of the world.' The inscription on Darius, as translated by the first-mentioned scholar, is 'Darius, the powerful king, king of kings, king of the gods, son of Vystashp, of an illustrious and very excellent race.' By Grotefend, 'Darius, the valiant king, king of kings, king of the people, son of Hystaspes, successor of the sovereign of the world.' Such being the general agreement of these two scholars in their respective modes of interpretation, we may, I think [and the reader, here, will probably agree with M. Heeren], safely leave them to settle their other differences together in an amicable man-

ner, *without any apprehension* that the system adopted by M. Grotefend will eventually turn out to be false, or that any other scholar will venture to contest with him the merit of discovery."

A series of laborious investigators in the same field, has since arisen in Germany; and one and all have started from the point, and followed in the path, originally pointed out by M. Grotefend. His "kings" are their "kings;" and his alphabet the sole substratum of their alphabets, which, are all based upon the proper names, *Cyrus*, *Darius*, *Xerxes*, &c., professing only to be improved, corrected, and enlarged, by the several subsequent inquirers. And as it has been in Germany, so has it been in England: a point of fact certified by a single testimony which may well stand for all, that of the latest and most distinguished of English inquirers, Colonel Rawlinson. The following tribute from the pen of this gallant officer (to whom his country is not less indebted for his heroic services in Afghanistan, than learned Europe for his enterprize in copying, for the first time, the great arrow-headed inscriptions of Behistan or Bisitun), however lofty the scale of the structure purporting since to be erected by others and by himself, leaves Professor Grotefend in

undisputed possession of the palm of discovery, and of the title, amidst the supposed redintegrated ruins of the literature of Nineveh, Babylon, and Persepolis, of master-builder.

"Professor Grotefend has certainly the credit of being *the first who opened a gallery into this rich treasure-house of antiquity.* In decyphering the names of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, and Hystaspes, *he obtained the true determination of nearly a third of the entire alphabet*, and thus, at once, *supplied a sure and ample basis for further research.*"

This honourable acknowledgment is succeeded by an equally honourable testimony to the conceived merits of a more recent German inquirer, Professor Lassen, whose "identification of at least twelve characters, *which had been mistaken by all his predecessors* [!], may entitle him almost to contest with Professor Grotefend the palm of alphabetical discovery."

And this tribute, again, is followed by a still more honourable disclaimer, on Colonel Rawlinson's own part, of "*any pretension to originality, as regards the alphabet which I have finally decided on adopting.*"

By these candid statements and admissions, the inquiry before us is at once simplified; and the whole question at issue reduced within the

narrowest possible limits; namely, *the soundness or unsoundness* of Professor Grotefend's alleged original discovery, and the consequent *soundness or unsoundness* of the alphabets subsequently formed on that basis.

We are thus naturally re-conducted to the fountain-head, — the learned Professor's own account of his own discovery. Its rise and progress he very simply, and very clearly, describes as follows:—

"Let us now proceed to an examination of my own method of decyphering the first species of Persepolitan writing; after which, I shall endeavour to furnish a brief sketch of the results obtained from my interpretation, as far as they may interest the general historian. With regard to my mode of procedure, and manner of decyphering, they are both so excellently laid down by the Baron Silvestre de Sacy, in a letter to M. Millin (Magasin Enclopédique, Année viii. tome v. p. 438.), that I need only refer the reader to that source. But, as it might prove interesting to know how a person, without any profound acquaintance with oriental languages, has been able to decypher a species of Asiatic writing of the most remote antiquity, of which the alphabet, the language, and the contents were equally unknown, I may as well enter into

a few details relative to the history of my interpretation.

"Among the inscriptions of the first kind [the simplest form of the Persepolitan writing], there are two, very accurately copied by Niebuhr (vol. ii. tab. xxiv. B. and G.). They are accompanied with translations evidently made from the two other kinds of writing, which are of the same size, and, according to all appearance, of the same contents; and therefore, as the first kind is, in general, the most simple of all the cuneiform writings, my predecessors have applied themselves to decypher it in preference to the rest. From the same point, also, I took my own departure, particularly as *the word recognized by Tychsen and Münter as the key of the whole alphabet*, occurs most frequently in the species in question; and supposing, with Tychsen, *that we must look for titles of kings in the inscriptions placed over their portraits* (Niebuhr, *Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 112. 117.), *I felt convinced* that the word so often repeated, MUST SIGNIFY 'KING.' Having, therefore, arrived at the same principle with Tychsen and Münter, without perusing any work upon cuneiform writing, and without seeing any other copies than those of Le Bruyn and Niebuhr, *I translated the two inscriptions*, according to the analogy of those in

Pehlvi decyphered by M. de Sacy, in the following manner :—

N.N.REX.MAGNUS (?) REX. REGUM. (REX.—UM.)
FILIUS—. (REGIS). STIRPS. ACHAEMENES (?) (---)

"I was thus naturally led to infer, that these two kings [?] must be father and son, because the king in Niebuhr's Pl. G. was called the son [?] of the king in Pl. B.; and because in both the translations of the other kinds of writing [?], there existed the same connection between the two names [?]. Upon this I examined Heeren's Researches, and the essay of M. Münter, in order to ascertain the particular age of the Persian kings, to which the bas-reliefs in the ruins of Persepolis belonged, and thereby to discover the names applicable to them; *the only way in which I could possibly succeed in finding out the signification of certain letters;* and, ultimately, *by this means*, elucidate the whole of them. Being fully persuaded, from an examination of the contemporary Greek historians, whose writings are the most circumstantial of any we know, *that I must*, in this case, *look for two kings of the dynasty of the Achaemenides**,

* Colonel Rawlinson's process is simply the repetition of Grotefend's: viz. 1. *the assumption* of the existence, in the unknown inscriptions, of proper names; 2. the conjectural verification of the assumed names; and 3. the construction of an alphabet, based on this double assumption.

I, in consequence, ran over the list; and successively applied the names to the characters of the inscriptions. These names could, obviously, be neither Cyrus, nor Cambyses, because *the names* [?] occurring in the inscriptions, do not

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To submit it in his own words, here is his account of the process, as applied to the inscribed tablets at Hamadan, his first essay: "These tablets consist of two trilingual inscriptions. When I proceeded to compare and interline the two inscriptions, or rather the Persian columns of the two inscriptions, I found that the characters coincided throughout, except in certain particular groups; *and it was only reasonable to suppose* that the groups which were thus brought out and individualized *must represent proper names.* I further remarked, that there were but three of these distinct groups in the two inscriptions; for the group which occupied the second place in one inscription, and which, from its position, *suggested the idea* of its representing *the name of the father of the king who was there commemorated,* corresponded with the group which occupied the first place in the other inscription, and thus, not only served determinately to connect the two inscriptions together, but, *assuming* the groups to represent proper names, appeared also to indicate a genealogical succession. The natural inference was, that, in these three groups of characters, I had obtained the proper names belonging to three consecutive generations of the Persian monarchy; and it so happened, that the first three names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, which I applied *at hazard* to the three groups, according to the succession, proved to answer in all satisfactorily, and were, in fact, the true identifications." (*Ut supra*, pp. 5, 6.)

Now what is the entire process here described, but a series, not of proofs, but of postulates? 1. The unknown characters in question may, or may not, represent proper names; 2. if they do represent proper names, these may, or may not, be the names of kings; 3. if they be the names of kings, they may, or may not, be in genealogical succession; 4. if they be in genealogical succession, they may, or may not, be the names of the Achaemenides, Darius Hystaspes, and Xerxes. The whole is still conjectural, and all the wit of man will never raise it beyond conjecture. When all that is to follow depends upon the soundness of the alphabet, the thoughtful inquirer after truth may well pause to ask himself the value of an alphabet distilled from such an alembic.

begin with the same letter. Cyrus and Artaxerxes were equally inapplicable, because, in reference to the characters, the first is too short, and the second too long; there only remained, therefore, the names of Darius and Xerxes; and these latter [in their supposed length] agreed so exactly with the characters, *that I could not hesitate in selecting them.* Besides, in the inscription relative to the son [?] the royal title [?] was, also, attributed to the father, but not in the one relating to the latter [?]; an observation which holds good with regard to the Persepolitan inscriptions generally. HAVING THUS FOUND OUT MORE THAN TWELVE LETTERS*,

* The reliance to be placed on Professor Grotefend's "twelve letters," and upon the whole system of alphabetical discovery to which his theory has given birth, may be brought to a very plain and simple test; the amount, namely, of mistakes and recantations made and avowed periodically, if not by himself, by all his successors; whose alphabets change their powers with a Proteus-like facility elusive of all substantive grasp. Thus, à propos to Grotefend's twelve letters, we are told by Colonel Rawlinson of "the recent researches of Professor Lassen, supplying an identification of at least twelve characters *which had been mistaken by all his predecessors.*" Of Grotefend himself he observes, "His alphabet exhibits a correct identification *of eight* letters, out of the *thirty* to which he assigned equivalents. Saint-Martin (he adds) endeavoured to construct an alphabet of thirty-nine characters; *twelve of these he considered doubtful;* ten he identified correctly; *of seventeen his reading was erroneous.*" Of another French savant he speaks in connection with his own researches: "The memoir of M. Burnouf on the inscriptions of Hamadán, which was forwarded to me by the learned author, showed me that I had been anticipated in the announcement of many of the improvements that I had made on the system of M. Saint-Martin, but I still found *several essential points of difference between the Paris alphabet, and that which I had formed from the writing at Behistun,* and my observations on

among which were precisely those composing the royal title [?], with the exception of only

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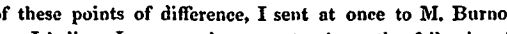
a few of these points of difference, I sent at once to M. Burnouf. In this letter I believe I suggested, amongst others, the following identifications *in preference to the values assigned by M. Burnouf.*

"I remained for a long time *in doubt* regarding the value of the following characters, , , , and ; and, in the powers which I assigned to the two latter, *I am even now at issue with all my predecessors.* During this period I obtained, through continued labour, the following identifications of value:



At the same time, *I must admit that I was not altogether satisfied with the powers that I had assigned;* and that with regard to that most useful character *y, I remained entirely in error until the following year.*" — *Rawlinson, ut supra,* pp. 4—10.

I take at hazard a few specimens only of the acknowledged doubts and differences, mistakes and recantations, as to the true powers of the arrow-headed characters, thus given to the world by the leading advocates of the Grotefend system. It rests with the reflecting reader to consider for himself what reliance can rationally be placed on alphabets, confessedly constructed from doubtful or changeful elements? why, in alphabets thus based wholly on conjecture, the conjecture of one learned philologist should be preferable to that of another? And, lastly, why, in the case of the same philologist, his last year's conjecture should supersede the conjecture of the preceding year? The terms, indeed, in which Colonel Rawlinson himself speaks of his published Behistun alphabet, shows only how completely the whole subject is still at sea; when he describes it as "the alphabet which *I have finally decided on adopting,* and again, "in the winter of last year, before I left Persia, *the alphabet I had decided on adopting* exhibited almost the same appearance that it does at present," is it possible to conceal from ourselves how the issue trembled in the balance? how completely the question as to the contents of the Behistun inscription, and consequently as to the language of ancient Persia, turned upon the pendulous final decision, between most doubtful alternatives, of one man? The moral is only too plain; a lost alphabet never was, and never can be, recovered by conjecture; in other words, verified experiment, on substantive principles, like those of legend and

one, the next business was *to give these names* [?], hitherto merely known to us by Greek pronun-

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device, and the application of known alphabetic powers to known alphabetic forms, is the only safe rule.

The self-evident uncertainty which thus pervades the professed restorations of the arrow-headed alphabet, necessarily extends itself to the professed interpretations of the language. Accordingly, Colonel Rawlinson himself pronounces of the founder of his own system, "The translations of Professor Grotefend and of Saint-Martin *are altogether erroneous, and merit no attention whatever.*" (p. 11.). Of M. Burnouf's "incidental examination of the geographical names contained in one of Niebuhr's Persepolitan inscriptions, constituting by far the most interesting portion of his researches," he states that, "in a list which exhibits the titles of twenty-four of the most celebrated nations of Asia, *he has correctly deciphered ten only of the names.*" And again, "of the remainder, he left the greater part untouched, but the few which he did examine *were incorrectly rendered;*" even of Professor Lassen's translations (his own latest and highest authority), he observes that, while "the highly improved condition of the Bonn alphabet has rendered the Professor's identification of the geographical names at Persepolis far superior in correctness to that of M. Burnouf, still he is not, I think, without error in his reading and appropriation of these names; and that he has also, *in many cases misunderstood, both the etymology of the words, and the grammatical structure of the language,* as will be apparent from the appendix to the present memoir, where I have compared the Professor's translation of Niebuhr's inscription with my own." (pp. 12, 13.) The doubt thus thrown upon the labours of some of the most eminent of his fellow-labourers, will naturally strike reflecting readers as some ground of doubtfulness respecting the better success of his own. For where the ground of the parties here at issue is common, this ground being not experiment but conjecture, and the strife consequently one only of opinion against opinion, the latest opinion can have no other obvious advantage than that of being the last word. What has been said by Colonel Rawlinson of the translations of Grotefend or Saint-Martin, Burnouf or Lassen, will not fail to be said of those of Colonel Rawlinson by fresh investigators on the Grotefend system, in its very essence a field for boundless speculation. Uncertainty must still hang over every portion of such a field: an uncertainty, in the present case, assuredly not removed by the gallant Colonel's own report of his means and methods of proceeding. After admitting with becoming modesty his liability to

ciation, *their true Persian form* [?]; in order, *by ascertaining the correct value of each character*,

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error—"I do not affect to consider my translations as unimpeachable; those who expect, in the present paper, to see the cuneiform inscriptions rendered and explained with as much certainty and clearness as the ancient tablets of Greece and Rome, will be lamentably disappointed;" he thus proceeds,—"It must be remembered that the Persian of the ante-Alexandrian ages has long ceased to be a living language; that its interpretation *depends* on the collateral aid of the Sanskrit, the Zend, and the corrupted dialects which, in the forests and mountains of Persia, have survived the wreck of the old tongue; and that, in a few instances, where these cognate and derivative languages have failed to perpetuate the ancient roots, or where my limited acquaintance with the different dialects may have failed to discover the connection, *I have been obliged to assign an arbitrary meaning*, obtained by comparative propriety of application, in a very limited field of research," &c.

Let the reader reflect only for a moment on these sources and materials of decypherment, and he must surely see, that this entire scheme of decypherment is based wholly on conjecture. The ancient Persian, it is conceded, has been long lost and unknown. That the Sanskrit, an Indian dialect, should prove its interpreter, is an assumption, not only without proof, but against all antecedent probability. For the Zend, indeed, there is the plea, that it not only belongs to the country, but that it is a Persian dialect consecrated by its association, in the Zendavesta, with the laws and religion of Zoroaster; but this plea is annulled by the conjecture of Colonel Rawlinson himself, that "the Zend is *a later language than that of the inscriptions*, upon the debris of which it was probably (?) refined and systematized." But when recourse is had to hill patois, "and the corrupted dialects, which, in the forests and mountains of Persia [may] have survived the wreck of the old tongue," we are thrown loose upon the sea of language without chart or compass, and left at the mercy of every chance wave. When to these most dubious materials of decypherment are added "arbitrary meanings, obtained by comparative propriety of application in a very limited field of research," what, I would ask, is decypherment based on such a foundation, but *conjecture* from the beginning to the end? It follows that in this, as in every other application of the Grotefend system of decypherment, the interpretation of the language is as ideal as the restoration of the alphabet; and that what Dr. Layard has candidly stated in his recent publication of his own first essays, holds true of all that has preceded, and of all that

to decypher the king's title, and thereby also *to determine the particular language in which the inscriptions were written.* The Zendavesta of Anquetil Duperron *appeared* to furnish the best information on the subject, especially as the frequent use of vowels *had already inclined M. Münter towards the Zend.* From this authority I learned, that the Greek name of Hystaspes was pronounced in Persian, Goshtasp, Gustasp, Kistasp, or Wistasp.* *Here, then, were the seven first letters of the word Hystaspes*, in the inscription of Darius already pointed out, while a comparison of all the royal titles led me to conclude, *that the three last formed the inflexion of the genitive case singular* [!]. It is scarcely possible to admit the conjecture of M. Duperron, that the name of Darius was pronounced, in Persian, *Eanteraffesh;* for, in Reland's Dissertation *De Vet. Ling. Pers.*, I observe the following quotation from Strabo; τὸν Δαρειαύην (consequently, in the nominative, *Dariaves*, or, according to the Persian system, *Dariavesh*),

may follow them. "When, in 1849, I published the narrative of my first researches in Assyria, the numerous inscriptions recovered from the remains of the buried palaces were still almost a sealed book; for although an interpretation of some had been hazarded, it was rather upon mere conjecture, than upon any well-established philological basis."

* What reader of "The Antiquary" can fail to be reminded, here, of "the *Pikar, Pihar, Pichtar, Piaghtar*, or *Peughtar*," of his old and pleasant friend, Jonathan Oldbuck?

Δαρεῖον ἐκάλεσαν, and it is not easy to conceive why the Greeks, and the Hebrew writers, should have transformed *Eanteraffesh* into *Dareios*, or *Dariavesh*. I confined myself, therefore, to the word Darius, or Dariavesh; and only *endeavoured to find out the Persian sounds in the name of Xerxes* [?]. Without stopping at the name of Artaxerxes, in the Pehlvi or the modern Persian, *I gave the preference to the Zend*, taking as a model the word Araxes, on which Duperron makes the following remark, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions*, tome xxxi. p. 367.: 'Araxes is formed from Weorokeshe or Warakshe, simply by dropping the first letter; and *kshe* is always represented in Greek by ξ.' In consequence, *I had no hesitation in transforming* the name of Xerxes into Kshershe or Ksharshe, being guided by the letters indicated in the words Hystaspes and Darius [?]; the only difficulty was, the occurrence of an additional sign between the *sh* and the *e*, which last, Münter *rightly* [?] conjectured to be the first letter of the Zend alphabet, and which has, also, the value of an open *a*. Having compared, afresh, all the inscriptions given by Niebuhr and Le Bruyn, in order to assure myself that the names were faithfully copied, I found that the fourth character in the word Hystaspes [?]

ought to be composed of three principal wedges of the same length; but that, in the name of Xerxes [?], the third character ought to be written with only one, and the fifth, on the contrary, with three transverse wedges. This circumstance led me to remark, that the third character in the name of Xerxes [?] was synonymous with the fourth and last of the royal title [?]; and, *as the three first signs* in this title *had been ascertained by means of the name of Xerxes*, and the last but one by that of Hystaspes, *I endeavoured to decypher the whole*, in order to find out the meaning of the unknown sign; which also occurs in the name of Darius [?], after the three first characters representing the syllable *Dais*. The vocabulary of *the Zend language*, by M. Duperron, presented no word under the letters *kshe*, signifying *king*, but a number of equivalent forms under *kshe*, which led me to understand the language of the inscription [?]; *and proved to a certainty* [?] that the first letter in the name of Xerxes was *kh;* but I found no clue to the meaning of the unknown sign. In the meanwhile, however, as no form *of the Zend* [?] accorded better with the characters of the inscription than that of *khsheio*, *I assumed* this unknown sign as the mark of aspiration, or a long *h*. *I was the less scrupulous* in admit-

ting some such sign of aspiration, as I had before observed, in the Zendavesta, a number of words written, sometimes with, at others without an *h;* and had also met with a remark (in the *Mémoires* already quoted, p. 365.) to the effect, that, 'a final *a* is aspirated as if it was followed by an *h*.' This, also, would serve to explain *satisfactorily* the third character in the name of Xerxes [?], as well as the fourth in that of Darius [?]: and the *h* would apply, with equal propriety, to the inflection of the genitive case singular *she*, and to the end of the word *ah* [?], so often recurring, as *tsh* does to the inflection of the genitive plural *etshao*. I have recognized this aspiration in several words of the Persepolitan inscriptions, as, for example, in *Dahutshao*, which I, at first, supposed to stand for *Daharen*, but which *a continued study* of the Zend language has shown me to be synonymous with *populorum*. But, since *M. de Sacy has made several well-grounded objections to the names of Xerxes and Darius* [the basis of the whole theory], *I began to conjecture* that this sign *might*, also, serve to determine the correct pronunciation of the names in which it occurs, and provide against their being enounced *Khsher-she*, instead of *Khsh-ershe ;* or *Da-re-ash*, instead of *Dareash*, &c. &c. &c.

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"There is no occasion for me to detail the particular method which I followed in gradually tracing out the signification of all the other characters, as it must be sufficiently evident, from what has already been said, that my mode of procedure, *so far from being conducted on arbitrary principles*, has been *as circumspect as possible;* and that my plan of decyphering, least of all, deserves the imputation of blind chance, which certain partisans of my antagonist have been pleased to throw upon it. — If I flatter myself with having succeeded in decyphering *the first specimen of Persepolitan character*," &c. &c.

Now, surely, on examination of its details, every considerate reader must perceive that this whole account of the process of discovery is a series, not of proofs, but of postulates; that there is a *petitio principii* throughout; that the question is begged from beginning to end.

1. At the first step, and as the foundation of his whole structure, we are here called upon by Professor Grotefend to yield implicit assent, not to a proof, but to a bare conjecture, that *the title King* must occur in any inscriptions placed over supposed portraits of supposed kings at Persepolis.

2. We are required to receive as proof, a second bare conjecture, grounding itself upon the

first, that an unknown word of the most frequent occurrence in the inscriptions in question, must be this title of king. This conjectural proof is so vital in his argument, that it claims, in fairness, to be repeated in his own words: "Supposing, with Tychsen, that we must look for the titles of kings in the inscriptions placed over their portraits, *I felt convinced* that the word so often repeated MUST BE KING."

3. Upon this double *assumption* (for it is plainly nothing more) the unknown word, thus decyphered as "king," is further and forthwith "recognized" AS THE KEY OF THE WHOLE ALPHABET.

4. This "key-word of the whole alphabet," thus problematically obtained, is, at once, employed as the Professor's master-key in the work of decypherment. And by its aid, an inscription is translated, in which, as indubitable, the word REX, four times repeated, very properly forms the staple, while its accessories, MAGNUS and ACHÆMENES, as confessed conjectures, are modestly marked with queries. Why his notes of interrogation are omitted in FILIUS and STIRPS, renderings obviously in the same category, the Professor has not informed us, nor is it easy to perceive. REX, however, is the acknowledged stock-word of the decypherment; and the value

of its satellites is ascertainable only by the fact that the reading REX itself rests, wholly and solely, upon the authority of a double *conjecture.*

5. A system based on conjecture, is naturally prolific of results. Accordingly, as his next step in advance, Professor Grotefend conjecturally discovers "two kings," "father and son," in Niebuhr's two inscriptions. "I was thus naturally led [*i. e.* by his own translation] to infer, that these two kings must be father and son, because the king in Niebuhr's Pl. G. was called [*i. e.* by the Professor himself] the son of the king in Pl. B.; and because in both the translations of [in] the other kinds of writing, there existed the same connection between *the two names.*

6. Conjectural names for these conjectural kings are the elements of decypherment next to be provided. And (admitting, for argument's sake, what, in point of fact, is wholly inadmissible, the soundness of his previous decypherment of the key-word of these inscriptions as "king,") the learned Professor here, at length, deals with fair probabilities; however short these probabilities may fall of substantive proofs. He assumes the Persepolitan inscriptions to be of the time of the Achæmenides, and, like the regal buildings of Persepolis, to be the work of Cyrus

himself, or of his more immediate successors. And both assumptions are just and fair. He argues that "the names could obviously be neither Cyrus nor Cambyses, because the names [words] in the inscriptions do not begin with the same letter;" that "Cyrus and Cambyses were equally inapplicable, because, in reference to the characters, the first is too short, and the second too long:" and both negative arguments are, apparently, sound and good. But when once he comes to positives, all argument is gone: when he tells us, "there only remained, therefore, the names of Darius and Xerxes; and these latter agreed so exactly with the characters, that I could not hesitate in selecting them;" are we not reminded (if the image be not too homely) of the man who trussed and roasted, before he had caught his hare? the whole reasoning obviously turning upon the first gratuitous assumption, "that the key-word of the whole alphabet *must* signify '*king*.'"

It is needless to follow the learned Professor through his laboured efforts to extract the true Achæmenian orthography or orthoepy of DARIUS or XERXES from the Pehlvi, or from the Zend. For no amount of philological guess-work can, by any possibility, accumulate into a single substantive proof. The question of Zend, or Pahli,

or any one or other of the various modern hill dialects, as representatives of the ancient Persian, may be bandied by archæologists to the end of time, without the possibility of uniting them in any one opinion. The Zendavesta will continue, alternately, in one age, with Hyde, to be received as the work of Zoroaster, and its dialect as a genuine relic of the language of the Achæmenides; in another, with Foucher or Duperron, to be rejected as the comparatively modern fabrication, in an obscure patois of the country, of some Parsee impostor; without the controversy resulting in any uniform conviction, or any settled belief; while the uncertainty of the application of the Zend, or any other dialect of the country now known, as interpreters of the Persepolitan inscriptions, is plainly deducible from the admissions made, the interpreters themselves being the judges. After all is done, all still is conjecture; and conjecture, itself, not unfrequently disturbs and unsettles the very conviction which it is its object to produce. Thus, Colonel Rawlinson, while using it as a sheet-anchor, "*conjectures* the Zend *to be a later language than that of the inscriptions*, upon the débris of which it was *probably* refined and systematized; yet *believes it to approach nearer to the Persian of the ante-Alexandrian ages*, than any other dia-

lect of the family, except the Vedic Sanskrit, that is available to modern research."

It is with the respect most justly the due of British talent, and British enterprize, that I would leave it with the general reader to decide for himself, whether our own conjectures, or our own belief, either as to the antiquity or the recency of obscure Eastern dialects, as to whether their relationship with the ancient Persian be one of identity, or one only of corrupt and remote approximation, can ever become substantive ground for the recovery and reconstruction of a lost language? I would only observe that, if "the Zend be a later language than that of the inscriptions," any identification of it with that language must be merely conjectural, if not purely ideal; while, at all events, and in whatever point of view, it is altogether incapable of proof.

But to return to Grotefend and Persepolis. I have shown the postulatory character of the entire series of positions, which the founder of the received system of arrow-headed decypherment has advanced, and which his successors, one and all, have been contented to receive and build on as proofs. I have shown, further, that in a subject of this nature, however fitted to strengthen or augment an argument resting,

independently, upon other foundations, no amount of probabilities, however fair, can constitute its basis. I am now prepared to prove, not only that the basis of the whole argument is, in the case before us, unsound, as being, in itself, neither more nor less than a twofold *assumption;* but that the supposed word which constitutes it, and which, by Grotefend and all his predecessors and successors, has been rendered "*king*," and recognized "as the key of the whole alphabet," is, itself, not *one*, but *two words*. If this be proved within the same given inscription, the key of the alphabet is broken; but, if its master-key be broken, the alphabet is gone.

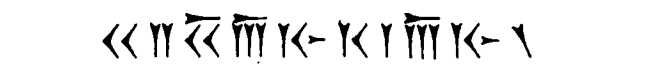
The word, or, more correctly, the group of characters in question, is

a combination of characters rendered by Grotefend, and by all who follow him, Col. Rawlinson inclusive, after the Pehlevi, k'hsháyathia, or "*king.*"

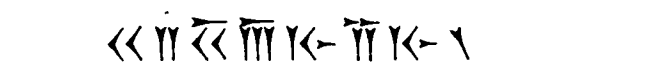
This group, we have already seen, occurs and recurs in both Niebuhr's inscriptions G. and B. It also occurs and recurs in a third inscription, published among the Persepolitan inscriptions copied by the late Claudius Rich, Esq. (*see* "Babylon and Persepolis," Pl. XXIII.), and quoted

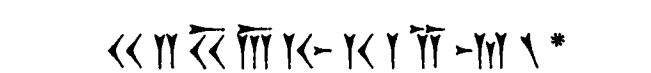
specially in connection with the two inscriptions of Niebuhr.

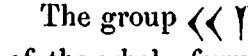
Now in this last inscription, while the whole formula stands repeatedly in conjunction thus,—



its first half stands, in the following example thus: —





The group  or the first half of the whole formula, thus self-evidently standing as a separate and independent word, employed in different connections and combinations, and, consequently, not constituting part, only, of a single word "*king*," the entire group, it follows, consists of two words, and *cannot* signify "king." Thus "the key of the whole alphabet," as already stated, is broken, and the alphabet itself gone.

In passing, in the progress of experimental decypherment, from Egypt to the countries bordering eastward on the Euphrates and the Tigris, at my first entrance upon that new and strange

* For similar variations, see also Rich, Plates XVIII. and XXV.

field in philology, the arrow-headed characters and inscriptions, I took up the inquiry, not in its chronological order at Nineveh or Babylon, but, after the example of my predecessors, in Persia: a course recommended by the simplicity, generally speaking, of the Persian characters, compared with the more complex forms of other classes, especially of the Babylonian; and further recommending itself from the opportunities it afforded of comparing the results professedly obtained by theoretical decypherers, with those practically arrived at by the experimental system.

The inscriptions selected by Grotefend, from Pasargada and Persepolis, as the starting-posts of his discoveries, to me, I will own, appeared anything but well-chosen, being too limited in scale for the construction of an alphabet; and his sheet-anchor, the epigraph from the supposed tomb of Cyrus, being wholly destitute of pictorial illustration. The absence of this adjunct, and consequently of the principle of legend and device, so vital an element, I had always found, in the decypherment of unknown tongues, satisfied me, from the outset, that Grotefend's scheme of decypherment, in itself altogether conjectural, never could be advanced beyond conjecture. Happily, however, one arrow-headed monument, self-evidently contem-

porary with the era of the Achæmenides, the rock-engraven tablets of Behistun, still survived in Persia: a monument, moreover, uniting all the pre-requisites for sound philological investigation; the scale of its inscriptions (400 long lines) being so vast, as to contain within itself ample materials for the full restoration of its alphabet; its repetitions of a given clause or sentence so numerous, as at once to facilitate, and tend to authenticate, their subdivision into words; while it possesses the rare and inestimable adjunct of a pictorial tablet, whose central position, and colossal figures, most plainly bespeak, antecedently, on every principle of good sense, its integral relation to the surrounding writings, as the device of their legends.*

In a cleft of the mountain of Behistun, or Bisitun, in the neighbourhood of Kermanshah, and upon the western frontier of Persia, this stupendous sculpture, carved in the perpendicular face of the living rock at the dizzy height of two hundred feet from the valley, had

* The good sense of Dr. Layard perceived and acknowledged the justness of this principle: and he has noticed it in his account of M. Botta's first discovery of Assyrian monuments at Khorsabad: "Numerous inscriptions were cut between the bas-reliefs, *and evidently contained the explanation of the events thus recorded in sculpture.*"— *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 12.

long been wistfully surveyed from below by the passing European traveller, without any possibility of a nearer approach. It was not until the commencement of the present century, that an English artist, the late Sir Robert Kerr Porter, drawn up the face of the cliff by ropes, succeeded in reaching, and making a drawing of the central picture. But it was reserved for the enlightened zeal and enterprize of another Englishman, Major (now Colonel) Rawlinson, our British resident at Kermanshah, to achieve the arduous task of taking, on cotton cloth, facsimile copies of the whole of the tablets and inscriptions.

Upon the grounds already stated, I perceived, at first sight, that this great monument possessed advantages for experimental decypherment of very different value from any attaching to the meagre tablets employed by Grotefend; and that these advantages, together with the comparatively simple forms of its characters, rendered it the true starting-point for inquiry into the arrow-headed characters.* The accompanying interpretations of Colonel Rawlinson I was most unwilling to prejudge; for I should

* "We are indebted to the trilingual [triliteral?] inscriptions of Persia for our only key to the decipherment of the Babylonian alphabet." — *Rawlinson, ut supra*, p. 24.

have unfeignedly rejoiced to find his success as a philologist keep pace with his enterprize as a copyist and transcriber. Our principles of interpretation, however, had so little in common, that it would have been romantic to anticipate any but chance correspondence in the results. Upon examining the proposed alphabet and decypherments of this distinguished man, it at once appeared that he was simply the disciple of Grotefend; and that as his system, like his master's, rested wholly upon theory, it could have no analogy with one, like mine, resting wholly on verified experiment.

It was not, however, as I have intimated, my wish to prejudge: very far otherwise. But I had the one principle only for my guidance, and the one course only open to me: that principle, the fundamental one of my work, namely, "that characters of the same known forms are to be assumed to possess the same known powers;" this course, the application of the canon in question to the forms and powers of the arrow-headed characters. When tried by this test, instead of any thing unique in the nature of these characters themselves, they proved to be only a fancy of the Assyrians, and other nations east of the Euphrates, to employ their favourite weapons of war as the formatives of their characters; or, to

familiarize the truth to the general reader, darts and arrows were employed by them on the same ornamental principle, on which they have been tastefully employed by Mr. Murray, on the graceful frontispieces of Dr. Layard's volumes.

The character 𐎱, or 𐎽, accordingly, in the Behistun tablets, I treated as the Greek ψ, the Hamyaritic *b* or *d*: the 𐎲, as the Ethiopic and Hamyaritic H, *z*: the 𐎴, as the Greek K: the 𐎵, as the Greek *ν*, *n*: the 𐎶, as the Greek Ξ, only with the power of the Hebrew ע, as at Sinâi and in Egypt, the vowel *e* not belonging to any of the Semitic dialects: the 𐎷, or 𐎸, as the Greek or Hamyaritic P, ר, *r*: and the 𐎹, as the Ethiopic ת, *t*. Having, by this process, resolved the Behistun inscriptions into their alphabetic elements, including the plain down-strokes, which, in all primitive languages, I had uniformly found to represent, exclusively, the vowels, *a*, *i*, and *u*, the result was an alphabet, in scale at least, as consonant with the received laws of language, as those of Grotefend and Rawlinson were foreign from them. Instead of the forty letters assigned by Colonel Rawlinson, after Grotefend*, to his Behistun alphabet, and which,

* "The sum of all the primitive characters never exceeds forty."—Grotefend ap. Heeren, vol. ii. p. 323. In his Behistun alphabet, Col. Rawlinson, at one time, adopts this principle; at another, he tells his

in the judgment of riper scholars, threw a doubt over his whole system*, I could discover barely ten†, a result harmonizing most satisfac-

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readers, "The alphabet contains about one hundred characters." — See *Journal of R. A. S.*, vol. x. pt. i. p. 33.

Dr. Layard, in his account of the Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform writing, advances even upon this copious allowance: "The alphabet of the Persian cuneiform contains but thirty-nine or forty letters: in the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, there are about three hundred different characters." Again: "Many of these characters are, undoubtedly, what are termed 'variants,' that is, merely a different way of forming the same letter; but, even admitting a large number to be so, and to be interchangeable arbitrarily, still there are between one hundred and one hundred and fifty letters, which appear to have each their distinct phonetic value."— *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 171.

The rules of alphabetical chronology might seem sufficiently violated by the idea of a primitive alphabet containing forty letters; but a primitive alphabet of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty letters with distinct powers, is a theory subversive of all the known principles of written language.

* Col. Rawlinson, himself, seems not unaware of this, and almost startled by the anomalous results of his conceived success: "The anomaly which cannot fail, at first sight, to attract the attention, *and excite the astonishment* of Orientalists is, that, whilst all the Semitic alphabetical systems with which we are acquainted, are distinguished for their rigour and compactness, the primitive lapidary writing of the same races, or, at any rate, of the races occupying the same seats, should be constructed on a scale of such *extraordinary amplitude and laxity*."—(p. 29.) It would, indeed, be an extraordinary anomaly if the case were so.

† This result was arrived at by a careful discrimination between characters having the appearance of vowels, or of ornamental strokes, and characters having known forms of consonants, or radical letters. Long experience had taught me that simple unconnected strokes, whether down, inclined, or horizontal, never represented consonants, but uniformly stood, either for vowels, vowel points, or ornaments; and that no accumulation of such adjuncts altered, or affected, their adjectitious nature. Exuberance in the use of vowels (a practice not unknown to the Arabic, and other Semitic idioms) was obviously carried to a great extent upon the monuments of Southern Arabia, Sinai, and Egypt, where the

torily with the known rule, that the antiquity of an alphabet is always to be measured by its brevity; in near accordance with the old Cadmeian alphabet, which consisted of sixteen letters only; and in nearer still with its parent

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same simple downstroke may often be seen repeated five or six times, enclosed between characters of known consonant forms, mainly constituting the word. Ornamental flourishes, again, have been, in all ages, proverbially a passion with the Eastern nations. In the Arabic, especially, they have been carried to an excess, which has sometimes buried the characters of the monumental inscriptions. For example, the inscription on the tomb entitled Madre-i-Sulieman, of which Sir R. K. Porter remarks, "It would have been useless in me to attempt copying it in the little time allowed me, *the letters being so confused amongst the ornaments*. Some future traveller, I hope, may be allowed to copy it, whose intimate knowledge of the language would facilitate the achievement; it being a task of *skill*, as well as of patience, *to disentangle the Arabic characters from the labyrinth of their ornaments*."— Vol. i. pp. 500, 501.

Bearing these phenomena in mind in the consideration of the Behistun, and other arrow-headed inscriptions, I was at once forcibly struck by the multitude of single, and apparently characterless strokes; and failing to decypher, I resolved to neglect them, and to test only the characters of known forms, by the touchstone of their known powers. The experiment quickly repaid. I found words, on reference to the Arabic lexicon, giving, accurately, the senses required by the pictures. I found the subject of the pictures, and action of the figures, clearly and minutely explained. I found the very execution of the Behistun writing, and its ornaments, so circumstantially described, as to preclude, to my own mind, all liability to error. It was in prosecuting inquiry on the principles in question, that I found its alphabet limited to about ten letters; while it was by means of this alphabet that I obtained all the results hereafter to be detailed, and to which I have here alluded only by anticipation. The result was most disappointing. It was literally

"Parturiunt *montes*: nascetur ridiculus mus."

Yet so far it proved satisfactory, as demonstrating the invariable application, in all these primitive pictorial monuments, of the principle of legend and device.

the Phœnician, which contained only thirteen letters. Having thus obtained the means of experimental inquiry, the next step was to make the experiments, and test the alphabet by the results of its application to these pictorial inscriptions. I did so. And owing to previous experience of the uniform relation of legend and device in all those ancient pictorial monuments, wherever found, it was far more to my satisfaction than surprise that I found the whole of the Behistun inscriptions to be simply explanations of the history, the subject, and the circumstances of the great central picture, together with an account of the artist, of the machinery employed, and of the manner of the execution, both of the sculpture itself, and of the accompanying inscriptions. As some of these descriptions, instead of occurring once only, are repeated forty or fifty times, and as all of them most accurately tally with, explain, and illustrate the picture, the proof of the whole decypherment amounts to a virtual demonstration.

But, although the true powers of the arrow-headed characters were first discovered and verified in this great Persian monument, it is not my intention to open this branch of my subject by entering at once on the decypherment of the Behistun inscriptions. Several consider-

ations unite to recommend a different course. The chronological order, although not that in which the first discoveries were made, is obviously the most natural for tracing the filiation of cognate alphabets of the one family. The shortness and simplicity of some of the earliest, probably, of the Assyrian, and Babylonian, pictorial inscriptions, both on tablets and cylinders, contrasted with the stupendous scale of the Behistun monument, render them far preferable, as elementary materials, for the introduction of the reader into a field of investigation until of late so untrodden: while, by the experimental verification of alphabetic powers originally discovered, in characters of the same forms, at Behistun or Persepolis, to inscriptions from Nineveh, or Babylon, the reader, it may be hoped, will come eventually to the consideration of the Behistun decypherments with the advantage of much intermediate and preparatory information; and with the further advantage, where his confidence may have been gained, of the confidence inspired by the success of previous experiments, in other quarters, upon the same characters.*

* "Those who have studied the subject with most care (and I would particularly instance M. Botta, the discoverer of the Nineveh marbles), have arrived at the conviction, that all the inscriptions in the complicated

Upon these grounds, we will now accordingly begin by the application of powers first recovered at Behistun, to characters of the same, or similar forms, upon the earlier remains of Nineveh or Babylon. Premising only, that here, as in Egypt (Part II. of this work), inquiry will be restricted to pictorial inscriptions, and to the principle of legend and device: the only principle, in the decypherment of unknown tongues, which affords a prospect, at least, of obtaining the witness of a twofold evidence; and our only safeguard, consequently, against the dangerous licence of unbridled theory, and unchecked speculation. If this course prove less fertile in great things than the philological schemes of others, what may be wanting to it in interest or excitement will be more than made up in sobriety and safety. If it place before my readers no grand scriptural, or historical, results*, it has the

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cuneiform character, which are severally found upon rocks, upon bricks, upon slabs, and upon cylinders, from the Persian mountains to the shores of the Mediterranean, *do in reality belong to one single alphabet.*" — *Rawlinson, ut supra*, p. 20.

* The article "Cyrus," in the "Biographie Universelle," contains a wise caution against history-seeking on the monuments of Asia; a caution the more needful, because, in dark researches of this nature, what men are predisposed to seek, they are but too apt to find: "Son règne est la première époque fixe que nous ayons pour l'histoire des anciens empires de l'Asie; et l'incertitude qui régnoit sur les principaux évènements de sa vie des le temps d'Hérodote, qui florissait environ cent ans après, *prouve que l'art d'écrire l'histoire était inconnu chez les Perses, et les*

humbler merit of telling them (what they see independently with their own eyes) the subjects of the pictures before them, the names and action of the figures, and such other particulars as may best explain the devices in this most ancient form of "Illustrated News." Of thus much I am bound in candour to forewarn my reader, that, by the experimental process he will look in vain for the histories or names of Ninus or Semiramis, of Sennacherib or Nebuchadnezzar. But, if the picture represent a king, he will find commonly beside it the word *king;* if an official, the name of the office; if one of the Magi (known to a certainty by the costume), the word signifying *Magus;* if a lion, the word *lion;* if an elephant, the word *elephant;* if a horse, the word *horse**, &c., together with words

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autres peuples de l'Asie : ce qui doit nous mettre en garde contre la plupart des traditions, qu'on trouve dans les histoires profanes pour les temps antérieurs."

* The usage was universal: Sir Francis Palgrave produces a striking example from a relic of the Gauls, found in the crypt of Notre Dame: "On another [stone] you observe three birds: you may count their number — so does the inscription — *trigaranus.* The *garan* is first cousin, if not brother, to the *crane* of the German, the *crane* of the Cymri, the *crane* of the Greek, and how many more?" — *Hist. of Normandy,* vol. i p. 41. This lively passage happily illustrates, at once, the universality of the principle of legend and device, and of the use of words self-evidently relics of the one primeval vocabulary. The word *crane* is, in this light, most remarkable: viz. —

cran — kraan — crane — crane — crane — crane — garan — karan.
Saxon, Dutch, Greek, English, German, Welsh, Gaulish, Arabic.

describing graphically the whole action of the piece. And this surely is only what common sense might anticipate of the delineations and writings of any mindless and barbarous people.*

Another preliminary caution I would venture further to submit, namely, as to the doubtfulness, antecedently, of all systems of decypherment which profess to recover names, and events, and histories, previously and independently known from Scripture or the classics. The natural bent of most men engaged in such pursuits, to find what they seek, and to see what they look for, should alone serve as grave ground of caution to others, if not to themselves. Even where inquiry is checked and corrected by the laws of verified experiment, and the aids of pictorial illustration, the professed recovery, in unknown tongues, of previously known personages and histories, is, from the nature and necessity of the case, always hazardous ground. But, if decypherment be founded on theory, and alphabets be constructed by conjecture, the case becomes imminent: disguise it as they may from others, or from themselves, our theoretical decypherers

* "In nations where there is hardly the use of letters, what is once out of sight is lost for ever. *They think but little;* and, of their few thoughts, *none are wasted on the past,* in which they are neither interested by fear nor hope. Their only registers are stated observances, and *practical representations.* For this reason, an age of ignorance is an age of ceremony." — *Dr. Samuel Johnson.*

have no other law than the law of their own wishes, no other limit than the limit of their own imaginations. From this boundless and visionary field, I would now recall the reflecting reader: I would warn him against the too easy acceptance of a new Bible on the one hand, or a new Herodotus on the other: I would remind him that, in philology as well as in higher matters, we must walk humbly if we would walk securely; and that, in any unknown tongue, *a single word really recovered by verified experiment*, is of more value than volumes of ideal proof, or plausible conjecture.

I would now invite the attention of the reader to a single word, being the sole inscription upon the annexed Chaldæan medallion. The example is taken as our first, simply because it happens to be the first decyphered by me from the Assyro-Babylonian remains. The subject of the medallion was apparently sacrificial; and on first inspecting it, I perceived this word behind the head of the leading priest or sacrificer. It was remarkable as not being in the arrow-headed characters, but in plain alphabetic letters of those primitive forms, which had been already traced and verified at Sinai, in Egypt, in Southern Arabia; and which are clearly traceable over the whole ancient world. This unexpected cir-

Plate I.

A SACRIFICE

Day & Son, Lith.rs to the Queen

BABYLONIAN PRIESTS OFFERING A VICTIM.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

cumstance caught and fixed my attention on the word, a monogram of three letters. I at once read it شصر. And, on consulting the lexicon, found in Golius, شصر, Pullus dorcadis; in Richardson, "شصر, *shasar*, A young deer;" and, in Freytag, شاصر, Pullus dorcadis *mensemnatus*, that is, "A fawn of a month old." This last definition left no room for doubt or question; for there was the month-old fawn, immediately facing the monogram, borne in the arms of the next figure, apparently a sacrificing priest or minister.

I now reflected that, in this result, we had, so far as one word could indicate, an index to the language of Babylonia or Assyria; which so far proved itself identical with the Hamyaritic, or old Arabic. The fact was obviously one of the highest philological importance; because, if materials were extant in these characters sufficient for an induction, we should be in possession of the language or dialect of the arrow-headed characters themselves, and should know where to seek the definitions of the words, whenever the powers of the letters could be ascertained. For my own conviction was entire, that the arrow-heads, and javelin-heads, of this whole family, were merely the favourite weapons of war disposed as letters, or parts of letters; the powers of

which were to be judged of, not by this peculiarity, but, like letters generally, by their forms. In connection with this singular mark of the passion of the Assyrians for war, it struck me that allusion might be intended to their arrow-headed characters in those words of the Psalmist: —

> "My soul is among lions:
> And I lie even among the children of men, who are set on fire;
> *Whose teeth are spears and arrows,*
> *And their tongue a sharp sword.*"

In this view of the design and origin of the arrow-headed writing, I had soon after the pleasure of finding my idea confirmed by the tactful acumen of Mr. (now Dr.) Layard, who has come independently to the same conclusion, in the following passage from his "Nineveh and its Remains": —

"Admitting that the Assyrian is the most ancient known form of arrow-headed writing, it would be interesting to ascertain its origin. The epithets of cuneiform, cuneatic, wedge-shaped, and arrow-headed, tête-à-clou (nail-headed) in French, and keilförmig in German, have been variously assigned to it, because its component parts resemble either a wedge, the barb of an arrow, or a nail, according to the fancy of the describer. It is not improbable, however, that the original or primitive elements of the letters were merely simple lines, the wedge or arrow-head being a subsequent improvement or embel-

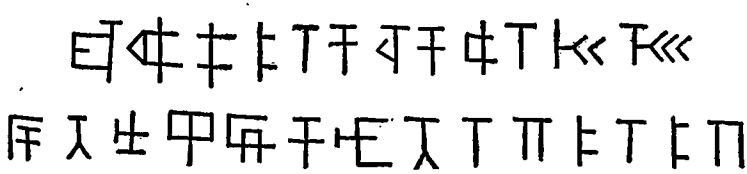
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE LIBRARY

TAB. IX
pag. 375
Vetu ſti ſimo ritu Sacerdos mi niſtrans Ore buculis velato.
2 Sacerdos miniſtrans cui Os panno tinteo vellatum eſt et Tiara reflexa.
3 Sec Strabonem caput buculis labia contegentibus.
Liber Sanctus Zoroastris
Sacerdos cum Gin gulo quadrimodi et Virgis miniſtrans relicto Ore detecto ne deformaretur figura
Day & Son, Lith.rs to the Queen

HEADS OF MAGI WITH THE MOUTHS MUFFLED:

FROM HYDE, HIST. RELIG. VET. PERS. TAB. IX.

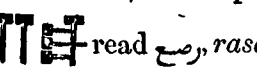
lishment." Dr. Layard corroborates his opinion by matter-of-fact evidence. "On a slab at Nimroud, forming a part of a wall in the south-west palace, but brought from the most ancient edifice, I found one line of writing in which the characters were thus formed. It occurred beneath the usual inscription, and was but slightly cut.



"It is evident that, by substituting the wedge or arrow-head for the lines in the above inscription, the characters would resemble such as are found on the earliest Assyrian monuments."*

Another variety of the Assyrian characters, noticed in the same context, afforded opportunity for a further *experimentum crucis* towards ascertaining the family of that language, with which we will now proceed. This variety is thus described and depicted by the same authority. "Nor is the element of the most ancient form of Assyrian monumental writing always the arrow-head or the wedge; it sometimes assumes the shape of a hammer, on painted bricks, from the earliest palace at Nimroud."†

* Nineveh and its Remains, vol. ii. p. 179. † Ibid. p. 180.

To my eye this inscription was so clearly in Hamyaritic characters of known forms and powers, as to induce me at once to attempt its translation. Accordingly I subdivided it conjecturally into words, reading from left to right, the more usual direction of this whole family of writing. The inscription, as read by me, contained three words. The reader may judge of my surprise, when I found these words actually translated in the introductory description by Dr. Layard. The central word that first deciphered, I read, agreeably to the forms of the characters, طوب, *twb;* and, on consulting the lexicon, was startled by the unlooked-for coincidence of the definition, viz., طوب, Later coctus, "A baked brick." The last word read لخط, and with a result equally appropriate, viz., خط, Pinxit, "To paint." The first word  read رصع, *rasā.* Its definition was in perfect keeping with its fellows, namely, رصع, i. q. لزت, Conjunxit, compegit, conglutinavit, ferruminavit, "Joining, cramping together, cementing, soldering;" the legend being simply a description

MAGIAN COSTUME_CENTRAL AMERICA.

Plate III

Day & Son, Lith.rs to the Queen.

PRINCIPAL FIGURE,
AN ARCHIMAGE WITH THE MOUTH MUFFLED

of the material on which it was impressed, which renders literally, in Layard's words, "Cemented together painted bricks." The word طوب, Later coctus, is here specially in place: the Assyrian bricks, usually, were only of sun-dried clay, but, to preserve inscriptions, the painted bricks must have been glazed by the action of fire.

In this example, again, we have three-fold proof, that the language of Assyria was the old Arabic. This point once ascertained, we are enabled legitimately to recur to the Arabic as the true key for the decypherment of all Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, whether in simple, or in arrow-headed characters.*

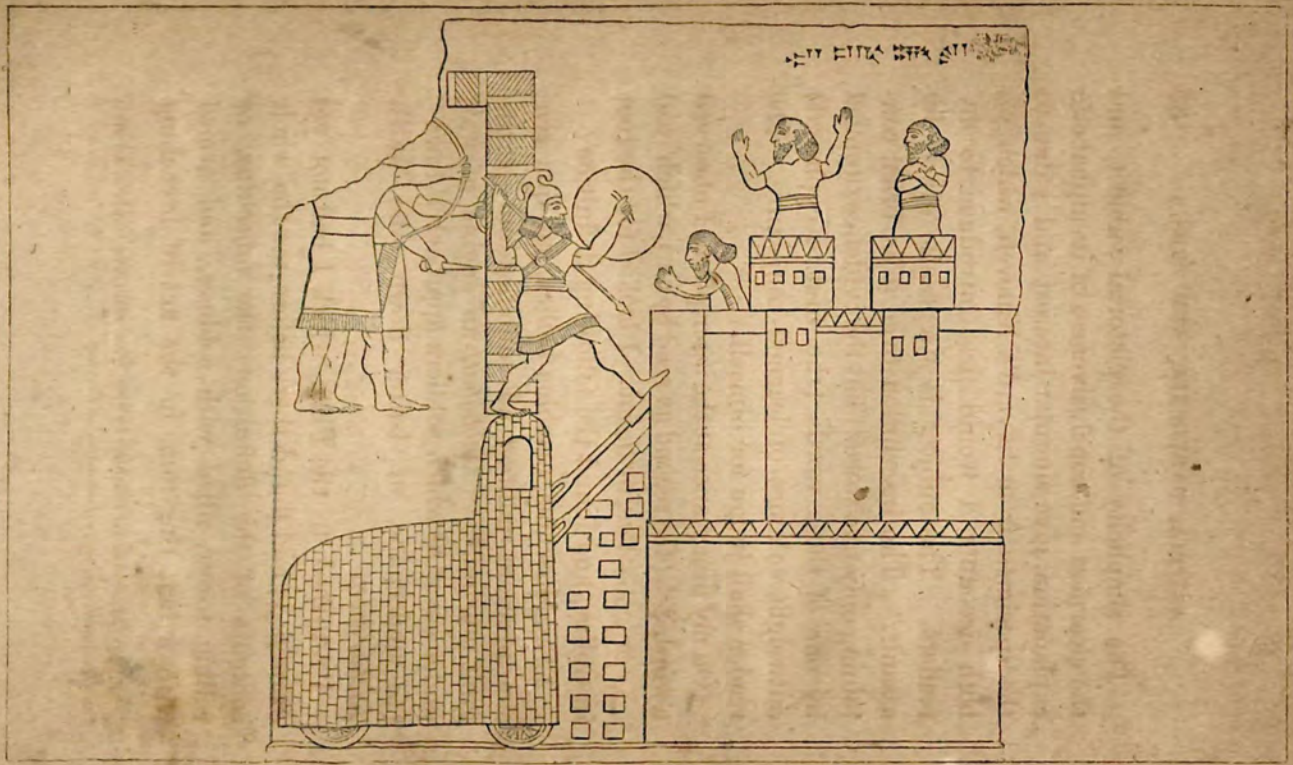
The characters in the second of the foregoing inscriptions are a curious specimen of the tran-

* "Two characters appear at one time to have been in use among the Assyrians. One, the cuneiform or arrow-headed, as in Egypt, was, probably, the hieroglyphic, and principally employed for monumental records: the other, the cursive or hieratic, may have been used in documents of a private nature, or for records of public events of minor importance. The nature of the arrow-headed will be hereafter described. *The cursive resembles the writing of the Phœnicians, Palmyrenes, Babylonians, and Jews;* in fact, the character, which, *under a few unessential modifications,* was *common* to the nations speaking *cognate dialects of one language*, variously termed the Semitic, Aramæan, or, more appropriately, Syro-Arabian." — *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 164.

This passage contains, both a just representation of the alphabetic phenomena which it describes, and a correct statement of the only legitimate inference which can be drawn from them; namely, that, in the cursive writing of all these primitive nations, a common character implies a common language, dialectically varying, but essentially the same, and best defined as the Syro-Arabian. In other words, the reader has here before him the fundamental principle of the present work.

sition from simple lines, to the simplest form of hieroglyphic. The bricks on which it is engraven being the subject of this inscription, the artist, it would appear, not content with describing, has introduced them into the characters; what Dr. Layard very naturally mistook for hammer, or rather mallet-heads, being simply hieroglyphics of the painted bricks themselves; as the reader, I think, will perceive, on examining the characters. The principle of the usage would seem to be, that, in the infancy of written language, it was found impossible to go too far in aiding the understanding of the writing, by presenting types, or symbols, of the subject to the eye.

We will now proceed, as proposed, with the experimental decypherment of the arrow-headed characters, not in their isolated forms, where, until the alphabet and language shall have been ascertained, independently, by verified experiments, all is, and ever must be, conjectural only, but as they occur, in a series of pictorial tablets and cylinders from Nineveh and Babylon, where the soundness of the alphabet, and the correctness of the subdivisions into words, can be tested, at every step, by the searching ordeal of agreement with the pictures; in other words, by the application of the safe and simple principle of legend and device.



The Musculus, or Moving Tower: with Assyrians storming a Castle.

The simplicity of the pictorial subject, and the clearness and conclusiveness of its alphabetic explanation, give singular interest and value to the specimen from Layard's Nineveh, which, on both accounts, I would first introduce to my readers. The subject is "a castle taken by assault." The inscription over it is brief, containing only five words: but the evidence supplied by one of these words (the first decyphered) outweighs volumes of learned conjecture. The reader shall judge for himself.

On my first glance at the inscription, I observed a word, (the second as read by me), which read دب or دباب, *dab*, or *dabab*. I looked for the root in Golius, and found the following definition:

دبابة, Musculus, machina bellica, sub qua sensim promota milites, ad suffodiendum pertingunt murum.* "*Dabbābat*, an engine of war, under cover of which soldiers approach a town" (to undermine, or batter down, the wall). *Richardson.*

I returned to the Plate, which I had not yet examined; and found there before me the whole contents of the definition: the musculus, or rolling tower, filled with soldiers, and armed with a battering-ram, in the act of breaching

* دبابة, Musculus *vel* machina bellica, quæ, militibus impleta, ad arcis muros admovetur, ut *perfodiantur*. — *Freytag.*

the wall of the castle.* Let this example be treated, as Paley would have treated it, as a case of evidences, and the picture, when collated with the above definition of a single word of its inscription, presents cumulative evidence of the truth of the decypherment, amounting to five distinct proofs. We have 1. the musculus itself, 2. its soldiers †, 3. its battering-ram, 4. its station in juxta-position with a besieged fortress, and 5. the results of the whole operation, namely, above, the soldiery scaling the battlements, below, the breached wall, with its stones falling down.

The remaining words of the inscription yielded senses equally clear, and equally consistent with the scene represented: but, for conclusiveness, it may not, perhaps, be too much to affirm, that in the whole compass of language, it would be difficult to find a legend so comprehensively explanatory of its device, as this single word 𒁀, *dab*, or *dababat*.

* "The battering-rams were of several kinds. Some were joined to moveable towers, which held warriors and armed men. The whole then formed one great temporary building, the top of which is represented in the sculptures as on a level with the walls, and even turrets, of the besieged city."—*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii. p. 367.

† In the example containing the inscription, the soldiers working the battering-ram are concealed within the musculus. In other examples, some of them are visible, standing on the turret of the engine, and discharging their arrows against the besieged on the battlements of the fortress. (See engraving facing p. 14.) Together they complete the definition of the word دبابة.

Our next specimen, also from Layard's Nineveh, of a pictorial scene accompanied by a short arrow-headed inscription, illustrates anew the principle of device and legend, as the fundamental rule in all primitive monuments: the writing here, equally as in the preceding example, proving, on decypherment, to be simply and strictly an explanation of the picture. The subject, as understood by Dr. Layard in the title given to his 77th Plate, is "A king seated on his throne, within the walls of a captured city, including 3 houses, and 7 tents." On examining the tablet, however, I could discover, in the supposed city, no traces of war or capture, but very clear marks, on the contrary, of a wholly different subject. The circular area, enclosed within a turreted wall, was subdivided into two compartments. The upper half represented a king seated on his throne, before the gate of his palace, and employed in the administration of justice: in Scripture language, it is "the king sitting in the gate." The lower half represented an eastern bazaar, or market-place, with its shops and goods, its sellers and buyers. I observed a butcher's shop, with its owner occupied in cutting up the head of a calf, or some such animal; the carcass being suspended above: furniture shops, with chairs, sofas, and earthenware vessels; the

owners employed in arranging the articles, or in chaffering with customers, both within and without the wall. In one instance, the buyer and seller appear seated opposite to each other, bargaining with their hands, as they do in Turkey at the present day. The whole scene, in a word, was one of peace and commerce. I could no longer doubt the nature of the scene represented: it was the market-place of Nineveh, including within its circuit (like the *Agora* of the Greeks, and the *Forum* of the Romans) the court of justice, and adjoining the palace of the Great King.

The scene of the tablet is the market-place with its regal and judicial adjuncts: but its inscription, as might be anticipated, proved, on decypherment, to belong exclusively to the upper compartment, or court of justice, over which it stands. Read from right to left, in the direction of the principal figure, the first word ضب, *daba*, Justitiâ implevit *provinciam*, at once told of what we saw before us. The next صبع, *tsabā*, Protendit manum ad imprecandum *alicui*, corresponds with and explains the action of the king. The third ذبح, *dabah*, Palam, manifestè, publice, tells that the court represented underneath is one of *public* justice. The fourth word كبش, *cabash*, Aries, and Princeps, ac dux *familiæ ita uti aries est gregis*, carries,

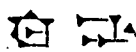
Scene in the Agora of Nineveh. — Assyrian King sitting in Judgment "in the Gate."

here, its own explanation. The last three words, viz. 𐎍 𐎀 يدى, *idi*, Manus 𐎊 𐎁 𐎆 كب, *kab*, amputavit *manum*, and 𐎎 𐎀 𐎎 خصي, *khasis*, Eunuchus, convey senses fearfully commented on by the scene beneath; where stand two eunuchs, behind the executioner, with their hands cut off. It was not until I had decyphered the word كب, that I perceived, what I had mistaken for abrasions, the mutilated arms of these unhappy victims.

A third pictorial example (Pl. 73), represents two caparisoned horses, with a groom leading out the foremost. An inscription in two lines stands over the picture; and in front, to the left, appears the fragmental figure of the Assyrian king, seated under a raised canopy, with an attendant behind. I tried the inscription by the Lexicon, when it appeared that its subject was a horse-race; that the racers in the tablet were about to be led forth; and that the raised canopy was, not improbably, the royal stand, placed so as to command a view of the race-course. The subjoined glyphograph represents the scene described; its accompanying glossary, gives my analysis and rendering of the inscription, as decyphered by my previously-formed alphabet. The reader will form his own judgment of the tablet, as a further example of the principle of legend and device.

راس, *ras*, مرواس, *meruas*, Cursu præcedentium primus.
First in the race. The foremost of the racers.

واي, *wai*, Velox et validum jumentum.
A swift and strong draught-horse.

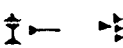


ربق, *rabak*, Firmiter religavit: *pec.* func in collo.
Binding or tying fast: *especially*, with a halter.

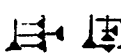
هوي, *hwi*, Exporrexit et protendit *manum* ad capiendum quid.
Stretching forth *the hand* to lay hold of anything.

وءي, *wāi*, Validus et robustus *equus*.
A strong and powerful *horse*.

دادا, *dada*, Secutus (à tergo fuit).
Following behind.

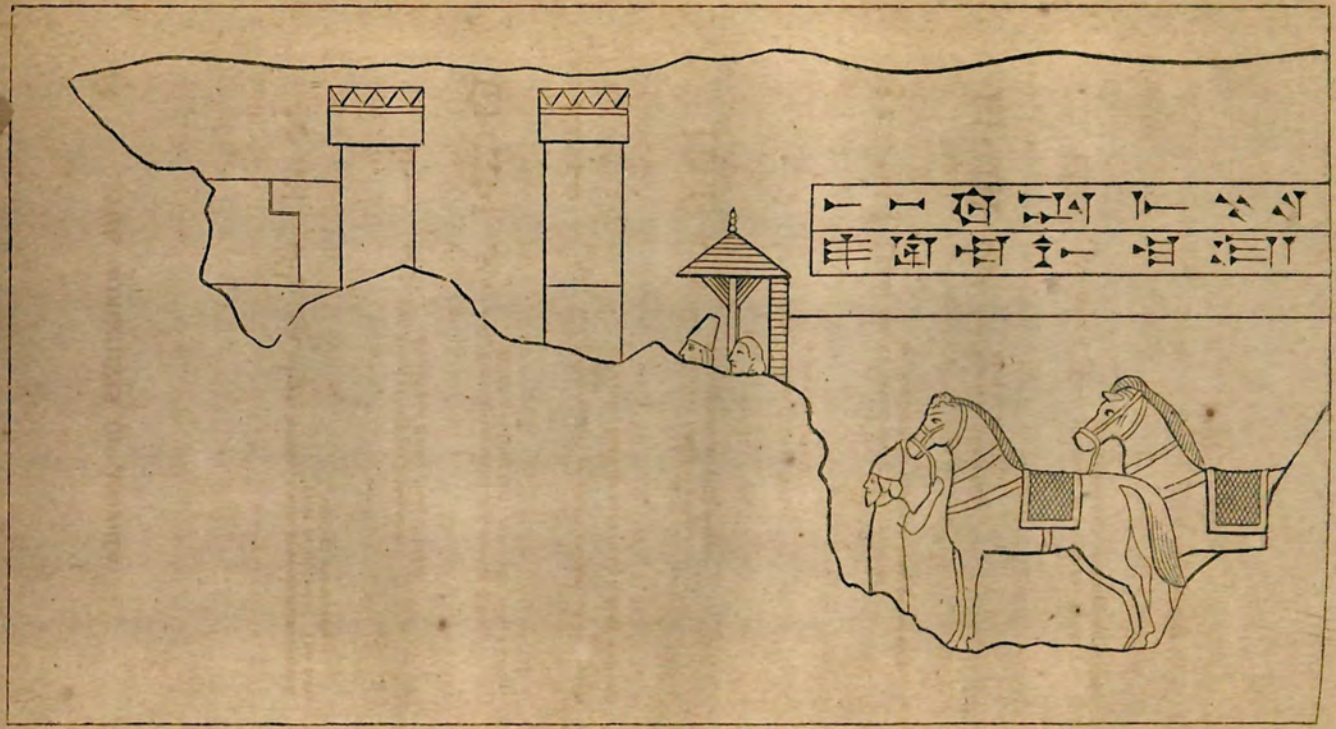


عدي, *ādi*, Ad cursum emisit adegitve *equum*.
Sending forth, or urging, *a horse* to the race.



عرص, *āras*, Alacer ac lubens fuit.
Alert and willing.

تاي, *tai*, l. q. سبق, Præcessit et prævertit: Præcurrit.
Taking the lead, outstripping, outrunning.



Horses led out to the Hippodrome of Nineveh.

In the few pictorial specimens here before us, with one great exception, we have, unfortunately for experimental philology, nearly the whole of the arrow-headed inscriptions to be found in Dr. Layard's splendid volume of one hundred plates, published in connection with his first work. Why the inscriptions are so rare, or why, where so rare, any are to be met with, seem questions useless to ask, because impossible to answer. From the little they have left, however, of this nature, we may safely infer the great amount of light that would be attainable, had the Assyrians, like their contemporaries the Egyptians, usually accompanied their pictures with written explanations; for the subjects of their tablets, unlike those of the Egyptians, are commonly so clear and simple, as to render any written explanations, if correctly decyphered, self-evident.

In expressing regret at the total absence of inscriptions in so many of the Assyrian monuments, I have noticed one great exception; the reader will doubtless anticipate me, when I thus emphatically qualify THE OBELISK OF NIMROUD: certainly one of the most curious, possibly one of the oldest, monuments in the world. Had Dr. Layard done no more than discover and secure to England and Europe this single treasure of unknown, and it may too justly be apprehended

of unknowable, antiquity, he would have done enough to hand down his name and memory with honour.

If we might judge by announcements long before the public, nothing would seem easier than the decypherment, and nothing more interesting than the contents, of this monument. Thus, in Dr. Layard's first publication, we read, "Since writing the above, I have learnt from Major Rawlinson that he has succeeded in decyphering the inscription on the obelisk described in the preceding pages. It contains, according to him, *the annals of the reign of the son of Ninus.* He has obtained, moreover, fifteen royal names."* In his last publication, we have a wholly different reading, and wholly different date: "The earliest king of whose reign we have any detailed account was the builder of the north-west palace of Nimroud, the most ancient edifice hitherto discovered in Assyria. It is important to ascertain the period of the accession of this early Assyrian king, and we apparently have the means of fixing it with sufficient accuracy. His son, *we know* [?], built the centre palace at Nimroud, *and raised the obelisk* [?], now in the British Museum, *inscribing upon it the principal events of his reign* [?]. He was a great con-

* Nineveh and its Remains, vol. ii. p. 192, note ‡.

queror, and subdued many distant nations. The names of the subject kings who paid him tribute, *are duly recorded on the obelisk* [?]; in some instances, with sculptured representations of the various objects sent. Amongst those kings, was one whose name reads, '*Jehu the son of Khumri* (*Omri*);' and who has been identified *by Col. Rawlinson* with Jehu, king of Israel." *

Now here are two accounts, by the same writer, of the same monument, as different and opposite as two accounts can be. A chronological gap of more than eleven centuries must be bridged over, before we can bring these antagonist accounts into contact at all: for the son of Ninus flourished about B.C. 2000; Jehu, about B.C. 884. When brought into comparison, what means have we of ascertaining which account is the correct one? or whether either be correct? The whole matter is conjectural; and, in matters of conjecture, people will be guided, not by proofs, but by predilections. "The son of Ninus" will prevail with the votary of classical antiquity; "Jehu, the son of Omri," with the lover of Scripture history; while the dispassionate reader will be likely to rest in the conviction that all remains doubt and darkness.†

* Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, pp 613, 614.

† To my own apprehension, without being able to attach the slightest

Receding intuitively from those giddy and perilous flights in philology*, where the loftiness of the ascent serves only to precipitate and aggravate the fall, it will be my humbler office, assigned me by the first principle of my work, leaving untouched all that is unillustrated, *i. e.* the great body of the writing, or nearly 200 lines, to examine experimentally the pictorial

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credence to either version, the chronological preference most clearly lies on the side of the primeval date. The monument itself bears, on its face, the stamp of a primitive antiquity. It is in perfect keeping with Diodorus Siculus's notice of the obelisk of Semiramis.* And what I have said incidentally elsewhere, I would here deliberately repeat, that "upon fair proof, we might rationally receive the obelisk from Nimroud, now in the British Museum, as a monument of the son of Ninus, B. C. 2000, or as of a date of 3900 years."

* Such are the discovery of proper names in every unknown inscription, while proper names may, in all likelihood, rarely, if at all, occur; and the recovery of history on every ancient monument, at periods when history had no existence. "History (it has been justly observed) is first poetical, then narrative, then philosophical. The cultivation of poetry has preceded that of prose, in every country whose literary history can be traced."— *Kenrick's Egypt of Herodotus.*

* The Nimroud obelisk, indeed, accredits Diodorus's account of that of Semiramis: for it proves that *the obelisk*, cut out of *a single stone*, was a form of monument in use among the Assyrians. The difference of scale makes no difference in the principle of art. In this point of view, the relation of Diodorus acquires such a new interest, that I give the passage: ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὀρῶν λίθον ἔτεμε, τὸ μὲν μῆκος ποδῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα, τὸ πλάτος δὲ καὶ πάχος εἰκοσιπέντε. Τοῦτον δὲ πολλοῖς πλήθεσι ζευγῶν, ὀρικῶν τε καὶ βοϊκῶν, καταγαγοῦσα πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐπεβίβασε πρὸς τὴν σχεδίαν, ἐπὶ ταύτης δὲ κατακομίσασα κατὰ τοῦ ῥεύματος μέχρι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος, ἔστησεν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν ἐπισημοτάτην ὁδὸν, παράδοξον θέαμα τοῖς παριοῦσιν, ὃν τινες ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ὀβελίσκον· ὃν ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ τοῖς κατανομαζομένοις ἔργοις καταριθμοῦσι. — *Bibliothec. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. xii.

parts only of this monument, with their short accompanying inscriptions; which, instead of forming parts only, as Dr. Layard supposes, of one great inscription, may well be presumed to belong to the separate tablets, over which they respectively stand. This fair presumption I now proceed to test by verified experiments.

Dr. Layard's highly interesting account of the discovery of the obelisk, and graphical description of its forms and sculptures, will aptly preface the proposed examination, while essential to prepare my readers (especially those who have not seen the original) to accompany me in it. After noticing some slight preliminary discoveries, he proceeds, "These remains, imperfect as they were, promised better things. The trench was carried in the same direction for several days; but nothing more appeared. It was now above fifty feet in length, and still without any new discovery. I had business in Mosul, and was giving directions to the workmen, to guide them during my absence. Standing on the edge of the still unprofitable trench, I doubted whether I should carry it any further; but made up my mind, at last, not to abandon it until my return, which would be on the following day; I mounted my horse, but had scarcely left the mound, when a corner of black marble

was uncovered, lying on the very edge of the trench. This attracted the notice of the superintendent of the party, who ordered the place to be further examined. The corner was part of an obelisk, about six feet six inches in height, lying on its side, ten feet below the surface. An Arab was sent after me without delay to announce the discovery; and, on my return, I found the obelisk completely exposed to view. I descended eagerly into the trench; and was immediately struck by the singular appearance, and evident antiquity, of the remarkable monument before me. We raised it from its recumbent position; and with the aid of ropes speedily dragged it out of the ruins. Although its shape was that of an obelisk, yet it was flat at the top, and cut into three gradines. It was sculptured on the four sides; there were, in all, twenty small bas-reliefs; and above, below, and between them, was carved an inscription 210 lines in length. The whole was in the best preservation; scarcely a character of the inscription was wanting; the figures were as sharp and well-defined as if they had been carved but a few days before. The king is twice represented, followed by his attendants; a prisoner is at his feet, and his vizier and eunuchs are introducing men leading various animals, and carrying vases, and other objects of

tribute, on their shoulders, or in their hands. The animals are the elephant, the rhinoceros, the Bactrian or two-humped camel, the wild bull, the lion, the stag, and various kinds of monkeys. Amongst the objects carried by the tribute-bearers, may, perhaps, be distinguished the tusks of the elephant, shawls, vases of the precious metals, fruit, and bars of metal, or bundles of rare wood. From the nature, therefore, of the bas-reliefs, it is natural to conjecture that the monument was erected to commemorate the conquest of India, or of some country far to the east of Assyria, and on the confines of the Indian peninsula." *

On a first inspection of Dr. Layard's Plates of the obelisk, without any reference to his description of its contents, which I had not yet consulted, my attention was arrested by the single lines of inscription, disposed in regular series over each of its twenty pictorial tablets. The regularity of their recurrence suggested the probability of the connection of these single-line inscriptions with the tablets as explanatory mottos, on the principle of legend and device. Besides numerous figures of men and animals, the tablets themselves contained a variety of objects, known and unknown. The unknown

* Nineveh and its Remains, vol i. pp 346, 347.

objects naturally awakened curiosity, and gave rise to conjecture; and by the hope of satisfying the one, and of testing the other, I was first led to try experimentally the inscriptions over the tablets. The very first experiments made, proved signally successful; and decisively confirmed my previously-formed impression, that the single lines over the tablets were simply tables of their contents. A few examples of these verifications, not in the order of the tablets, but in the order in which they happened to be made, may best serve to put my readers summarily in possession of the process and its results. In the second tablet of the fourth column of the obelisk I observed a tray borne on a man's head, filled with articles, which I conjectured to be honey-combs. A monogram stood over the tray to the left, which read, by my alphabet, , *dar*. I looked for the root, and found دَرَز, *darat*, Omasum, "A paunch." On reference to the picture, I immediately saw that what I had taken for honey-combs, were the honey-comb tripes, and the objects represented, oxen's or calves' paunches, cut open, so as to show the insides. Over this subject, on the first tablet of the fourth volume, occurred a similar tray, similarly borne, but apparently with

somewhat different contents, which I did not understand, yet with the same word, دزء, *Omasum*, over it. On submitting both tablets, however, to judges conversant with the insides of animals, the matter was immediately made clear: the lower tray, they remarked, contained the paunches laid open; the upper tray, the paunches in their whole state. It was further observed to me, that calves' paunches are much in use in the east, to the present day, in their cabobs; and that they are, also, a favourite article of food with the genuine, or eastern, gypsies, in England, at the present day. This Assyrian tablet thus shows, anew, the unchangeableness of eastern manners.

This one root, در, *dar*, proved fruitful, most unexpectedly, in further verifications. In the same first tablet, I observed two large semi-globes, manifestly very weighty, for they were sustained with both hands on men's heads. They might be metal pots or kettles, were it not that their mouths were obviously covered, so that, instead of sinking down on the bearers' heads, they rested on them. Two words over them, read دردر دب, *dardar darab*. Their definitions explained demonstratively the unknown objects: viz. دردار, *dardara*, Sonus tympani, "The sound of a drum," and دب, *darab*, *Pers.*, "A large brazen kettle-drum." I had myself no idea of

the true nature of these objects, until thus enlightened by the lexicons. But, on showing them, subsequently, without comment, to an intelligent observer, he instantly remarked, "They may be pots; or they may be *kettle-drums*"

We have not yet done with the fruitful root در, *dar*. On the third face of the obelisk, in the fourth tablet, I observed two articles, borne on men's shoulders, which I mistook for legs of animals. The word در or دردر recurred in the line over them. One of its definitions corrected me, and told, what I ought to have seen without its aid, the nature of the objects: viz. دردر, *dardar*, Dentes deflui, "Shed tusks." Once pointed out, there was no mistaking them. But my surprize was great indeed, when, on raising the eye, incidentally, to the preceding tablet, I saw the elephant himself, represented, in elucidation, clearly of the tusks underneath. Thus curiously it was that the Assyrians, and other primitive nations, appear to have laboured, in their sculptures and pictorial writings, to make clearness doubly clear; to leave nothing untold that could be told by pictures, and to trust as little as possible to words. The cause is plain,—theirs was the mental infancy of mankind.

One more occurrence of the root در on the Nimroud obelisk (its first) is deserving of notice.

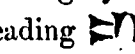
It is in the last tablet of its first face. Underneath are, again, to be seen the elephant's tusks, together with a tray of paunches, both cut open and whole; the super-standing word در being alike explanatory of both devices.

In juxta-position with the word در, *dar*, upon the fourth face of the obelisk, I noticed no less than five occurrences of another word, which read, by my alphabet, عضد, *atsad*, and whose definitions proved equally varied, and equally appropriate to the subjects beneath it, with those of its companion. A primary sense of this root was, Comprehendit *eum* in brachiis, "Clasping in the arms." Another signification, Brachium imposuit, supposuitve, "Placing the arms upon or under any thing" (i. e. supporting it). A third definition, Quæ circumstant *rem* et cingunt, "What surrounds and girds *any thing*." All these definitions are respectively illustrative of the several subjects beneath the word. The figures are all employed either in grasping, or in supporting burthens with their arms, excepting in the third tablet, where the two men represented are occupied in holding two monkeys by chains girding round their bodies, the last of the above three senses.

In the centre of the inscription over the monkeys and their keepers, I observed a monogram,

which I read ربح, *rabah.* I looked for the word without an idea of its meaning, and found its definition as a noun رابح, *rabah*, Simia mas, "A male monkey or baboon." The two animals below, and their name above, will, by all fair minds, be regarded as an effectual bar, in this example, to special pleading. They who choose to dispute evidence like this, betray only their own animus.

In these tabular inscriptions, it is further and specially observable, that the evidence of the decypherments is not limited to the names, only, of the animals or objects; it extends, in some examples, to agreement between the words and the figures, the definitions and the delineations, in the most marked and discriminatory circumstances of both. This is a point of too great moment to be left to a mere general statement. I shall exemplify it, therefore, in the more prominent instances of its occurrence. I have already noticed the repeated occurrences on the Nimroud obelisk of the word در *or* دردر, *dardar*, Dentes deflui, "Shed tusks," over figures bearing elephants' tusks on their shoulders. Content with the correctness of the definition, I had not paused to consider its exactness, with reference

to the delineations underneath this word. Nor, in noticing the fact of elephants shedding their teeth, had it occurred to me to connect it specially with the representations on the obelisk, until it was pointed out by a friend, that all the teeth delineated on this monument were indubitably dentes deflui, *or* "Shed tusks:" *the roots*, in every example, being most accurately depicted; thus demonstrating that these teeth, instead of being sawn off, had all fallen from the mouth of the living elephant. An example of the same character, of single occurrence, may be pointed out, in the fifth, or last, tablet of the fourth side of the monument. The first figure, to the right, in this tablet, is that of a man supporting a bag of some kind on his shoulders. The position of the burthen, and posture of the bearer, proved it to be weighty. The word under it, by my alphabet reading  , *tabar*, told it to be gold. I noted down the definition only in its general sense, without a thought of its more special meaning; when the same friend, observing that the bag was evidently sunk in by the pressure of the shoulders, and that the bearer, instead of grasping the ends, merely touched them lightly with the points of his fingers, as though not supporting, but *balancing* only the weight, — remarked that, "if the bag contained

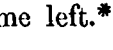
gold, it must be *gold dust.*"* The remark at once sent me back to the lexicon, where I read the definitions of تبر, which I here submit without comment to the reader. تبر, aurum nativum, antequam ignem vel malleum sit expertum. Hoc enim est ذهب, *dehebon.* تبرة, *Nom. Unit.* τοῦ تبر, *præc.* Pars seu particula auri, *nam illud arenarum*, et glareæ forma *colligi solet.* — *Golius.* تبر, Aurum, vel *fragmenta auri*, antequam ignem vel malleum sit expertum. تبرة, *Nom. Unit. vocis* تبر, Pars seu particula nativi auri. *Nam illud arenarum* et *glareæ forma colligi solet.* — *Freytag.* تبر, "Fragments, or particles of [native] gold. بلاد التبر, *Baladaltabar*, The country of gold, or of *gold dust*, that part of Africa called the gold coast." — *Richardson.*

DIRECTION OF THE WRITING.

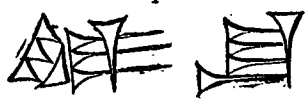
The Assyrians, like the Egyptians and the early Greeks, and in common with most of the primitive nations, appear to have had no fixed rule for the direction of their writing. Its pre-

* The friend alluded to, the Rev. William Dampier, Vicar of Coggeshall, to whom I am indebted for several similar verifications of previous decypherments, will, I trust, forgive the introduction of his name in this connection; where accuracy of eye is of so peculiar value in detecting and determining the design of the delineations, and, in consequence, the sense of the writing.

vailing tendency was from left to right, but with numerous exceptions in the opposite direction. In pictorial inscriptions, as in Egypt, it was uniformly regulated by the direction of the figures. Upon the Nimroud obelisk, the direction of the characters is determined by this rule. It is further established by the clear and consistent senses of the inscriptions over the tablets; which, read from right to left, give full explanations of the figures, the explanatory word commonly standing over the object; while, if tried in the opposite direction, they yield no explanatory significations at all. Another and independent proof of the true direction of the writing on this monument, is supplied by a single word, the word عضد, *atsad*, upon the important explanatory senses of which I have been just remarking. For this term is so disposed in the inscriptions of the fourth side, as to leave no room for doubt as to its direction. It occurs, as the reader may observe, four times in perpendicular series, on the extreme right of the line, in as many successive inscriptions; while, in its fifth occurrence, as the initial word of the inscription, it runs from the centre of the line to join the word at the extreme left.* When to these mechanical

* This word is  دَر or دَرْدَر, *dardar*, Dentes defluì: "shed tusks," a definition here demonstratively in its right place, as the elephants'

phenomena of position is added the consideration that the word (for here, happily, there can be no question that it is one given word)

 as rendered from the Arabic lexicon, completely explains the action of five sets of figures, all variously employed, by its three distinct definitions, it is believed that no impartial reader will require further evidence to complete the proof already given as to the direction of the writing upon the Nimroud obelisk.

ORDER OF THE TABLETS.

The order of the tablets is the point next in importance to the direction of the writing; for it is clearly essential that any difference of opinion on this point should be brought to a right determination, before we can proceed, on sound principles, to decide, either the subject of the whole piece, or its duly connected interpretation. The question as to the order of the tablets obviously is, whether they are connectedly disposed *seriatim* round the obelisk, or whether they are arranged in perpendicular

tusks appear immediately under it, borne by two men on their shoulders. The reading, direction, and rendering of its adjunct, عبد, is thus anew confirmed.

series, the connection being resumed at the uppermost tablet of each succeeding column.

A remark of Mr. Layard's upon the first two tablets of the first side of the obelisk, very nearly settles this question. "The king is twice represented, followed by his attendants; a prisoner is at his feet." * Now here, on the face of the matter, we have the same subject repeated. It is manifestly of the same type with one already noticed — the court of justice. The principal personages in both tablets are the same; the number of figures the same; and the only difference is, that, in the first tablet, the king is pronouncing sentence on the prisoner; in the second, he is superintending the sentence carried into execution. This is apparent on the face of the monument, without any reference whatever to its inscriptions. When we come to these, it will be found that the inscriptions tell exactly the pictorial story. Judgment is pronounced on the prisoner in the first; and, in the second, an account is given of its execution by an officer, who is in the act of bastinadoing the the prostrate criminal with scourges held in both hands. Read the tablets perpendicularly, and the subject, here, is in perfect harmony with itself. Read them, on the other hand, horizon-

* Vol. i. p. 347.

tally, and there is a total disruption of this first subject. The twofold scene in the court of justice is severed; and each tablet becomes blended, separately, with the general procession of men and animals. But as such disorder seems wholly inadmissible, the first two tablets settle the order of the whole, which is perpendicular.

SUBJECT OF THE TABLETS.

By general consent of the discoverers and decypherers of ancient monuments in modern languages, containing royal personages, and heavily laden processions, their common subject is understood to be, the deputies of conquered nations bearing tribute to the conqueror. This, accordingly, is Dr. Layard's account of the procession on the Nimroud obelisk: "The king is twice represented, followed by his attendants; a prisoner is at his feet; and his vizir and eunuchs are introducing men leading various animals, and carrying vases, and other objects of tribute on their shoulders, or in their hands." * Now, whatever, at first sight, the apparent probability of this statement, closer inspection of the monument will show that it cannot stand examination. Apart from the consideration of the perpendi-

* Nineveh and its Remains, vol. i. p. 347.

cular order of the tablets, ascertained, it is conceived, under the preceding head, and which strongly militates against such an idea, it is most observable, that no tributaries appear in the same tablets with the king. On the evidence of the tablets themselves, therefore, we have no title to talk of introductions and introducers to the royal presence. The officials there present are, presumably, only officers of state, and officers of justice. If by "his vizir and eunuchs," Dr. Layard intends the leading figures in the upper tablets of the second face on the same plane with the royal tablets, the notion is effectually negatived by the recurrence of identically the same figures, in identically the same postures, at the bottom of the second side, where they can have no possible connection with the king, or the presence-chamber, but are blended in with the general procession.

But the idea of a procession of tribute-bearers is further negatived by another circumstance*:

* A whole train of circumstances, indeed, might readily be pointed out in the tablets, altogether irreconcilable with the idea of tributaries, coming into the awful presence of "the great king, the king of Assyria." We see caterers, in the act of carrying supplies of provision, both cooked and uncooked; water-carriers, both bearing water-skins on their heads, and in the act of lowering them, to give drink to their fellow-travellers; and two of these fellow-travellers, with goblets in their hands, in the act of preparing to slake their thirst. All this is what would take place on an eastern journey, and is in perfect keeping with the idea of a Caravan.

viz., the total break in the procession, caused by the subject of the fourth tablet of the first side; namely, the scene of the stag, pursued and torn by the lion. This piece is most clearly symbolical, and apparently represents symbolically the royal judgment above it: the lion symbolizing the king, and the stag the criminal. The camel-driver beating his camel, in the intermediate tablet, in like manner, may symbolize the bastinado. But whatever this may import, the break of the procession in the tablet of the lion and stag is decisive.

The question next arises, if it be not tribute-bearing, what is the subject of the main piece? I answer, the same in kind with that taken, in Part II. of the present Work, from Wilkinson's Egypt; namely, an Assyrian pedestrian caravan, bringing the rich and various products of the far East to the great market-place, or bazaar, of Nineveh. We have already seen that, like the *Forum* at Rome, and the Agora at Athens, the market-place and court of justice at Nineveh were united in the same enclosure. The scene depicted on the Nineveh obelisk, therefore, correctly opens with a representation of the court of

But it is utterly inconceivable in the case of a procession of vassals, in the act of entering the royal presence-chamber, and on the eve of falling prostrate before the king.

justice, preparatory to the introduction of the long array of the merchants and merchandize of Nineveh, entering that great metropolis, returning from afar *, in the usual order of an Eastern caravan; intermixed with dealers bringing supplies of food, water, and other necessaries, to market.

COSTUMES OF THE FIGURES.

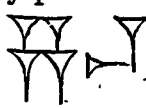
A discriminative survey of the countenances and costumes of the monument, is a point of manifest importance towards ascertaining its design and character. Apart from the king and his courtiers and officers of state, about six distinct national dresses seem discernible on the obelisk. It is further observable, that they do not come in regular series, but are a good deal interspersed. A more decisive mark of discrimination is contained in the circumstance, that three of the sets of figures wear sandals, and three walk barefoot. The pointed cap and the fillet supply further points of difference, not less marked than the shapes of the garments, and the patterns of their borders. Yet, notwithstanding

* The principal commodities, ivory, gold dust, monkeys, &c., indicate Africa rather than India. The Bactrian camels, however, point towards Central Asia. May there not be a re-union from different parts?

this great diversity in the dresses, there is a singular sameness in the countenances on the whole, and the hair, with one solitary exception, is uniformly dressed and curled in the Assyrian fashion. The meanest burthen-bearers in the caravan, equally with the king and his courtiers, have the same "swelling out of the hair behind into boundless convexity of friz," ascribed by a modern wit to the wig of a late learned doctor. These indications would argue these traders to belong, rather, to the great mixed race which inhabited Assyria, than to be foreigners of wholly different races, and from remote and opposite quarters. The products delineated, on the other hand, speak of Africa, or India, or both; and the bare-footed conductors of the wild animals were more likely to be natives of the countries whence they came, than native Assyrians. Possibly the costumes may be correct: the countenances and coiffure conventional. Possibly, on the other hand, it may have been the usage of the Assyrians, in those early days of commerce, to form themselves into caravans, which journeyed into remote regions, and returned with their produce.

COSTUMES OF FIGURES AND ACTION OF THE MORE PROMINENT FIGURES.

The action of the great majority of the figures on the Nimroud obelisk tells its own story. That of the carriers of provision trays, water-jars, and water-skins (indispensable attendants and accompaniments of a pedestrian caravan) has been already remarked on. The rest, for the most part, are bearers, simply, of the bales of goods, and other burthens, delineated on the monument. The action of a few only is both prominent and peculiar. These figures, it is observable, occur chiefly, almost exclusively, on the second side. In three of the tablets on this face of the obelisk, men appear with their hands disposed in some very peculiar action. According to Dr. Layard and others, these figures are those of state officials, in the act of introducing the procession of tribute bearers to the royal presence, and the action of the hands is one of introduction. This notion has been already negatived by the circumstance of the re-appearance of the supposed introducers, using the very same action, at the bottom of the second side of the monument. While even a slight inspection might have shown, that, in one, at least, of these figures, the action

itself seems altogether too violent, not to say extravagant, to be compatible with the reverence always paid by the officials of an Eastern despot, on entering into the royal presence. The objection seems naturally enough suggested by the most prominent of these figures, without any reference to the inscriptions. When we come to these, they tell a very different story. Over each of the three figures in question, on the lowest, or fifth tablet of the second side occcurs a word, which, as decyphered by my previously formed alphabet, read very plainly  , *baraz*, or ربس, *rabas*. But the Arabic root ربز or ربس (for the words seem only dialectically differenced) signifying primarily, Manu utraque percussit, *or* Manibus ambabus percussit; " Striking with both hands." The transition is easy and obvious from " Striking with both hands," to *Striking both hands together:* in other words, *Clapping the hands.* Let the action of the three figures now be tested by this definition, and it becomes self-explanatory. The central figure, with arms widely disparted, is in the act of clapping them violently together. The figure to its right is striking his knuckles together, in corresponding action, as the Spaniards do to imitate castanets. And the figure to its left, shows the hands

clapped together, as the central one is preparing to clap them. The action itself is historically characteristic, for it is scripturally true of the manners of the Jews, and the manners of the Jews are the manners of the East: thus the Psalmist, "*O clap your hands together*, all ye people;" and again, "Let the floods *clap their hands;*" thus Isaiah, "The trees of the field shall *clap their hands;*" and Ezekiel, "Because thou hast *clapped thine hands*, and stamped with thy feet."

The demonstrations here spoken of, are those of joy and gladness, or of victory and triumph. That upon this Assyrian monument, as will appear when we come to the decypherment, would seem to have a different purpose. Instead of officers of state, engaged in marshalling a procession, the evidence of the inscriptions would suggest, rather, the idea of officials of another character*, employed in the market-place of Nineveh in ordering and superintending the arrival and business transactions of a great Assyrian caravan; an office only in character with the commercial grandeur of that great capital, of which the Prophet Nahum has recorded, "Thou

* These figures manifestly belong, in whatever capacity, to the royal household. For one is a eunuch, and wears a sword; and the dresses of all are nearly the same with those in the tablets with the king,

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hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven."

ANIMALS IN THE THIRD TABLET OF THE SECOND SIDE.

The animals here represented are described by Dr. Layard as "the Bull, the Rhinoceros, and the Chipara, or large Indian antelope." With respect to the rhinoceros, he is certainly in error. The centre animal, so styled by him, is certainly not a rhinoceros. It has neither the feet, the form, nor the head, of that hog-like quadruped. The body, limbs, and head, on the contrary, are those of an animal of the bos species. And the only point of resemblance to the rhinoceros is in the single horn, which, however, is placed, not on the nose, but on the forehead. The inscription above the tablet gives a different account, and very clearly the true one. Its first word is, رب *or* ربرب, *rabrab*, and its definition, ربرب, Agmen *boum sylvestrium*, "A herd of wild oxen." But in the primitive eastern sculptures, as may still be seen at Persepolis and elsewhere, the *unicorn ox*, was quite as frequently introduced as the *unicorn horse*, or the one-horned wild ass. Whether real or imaginary, they portrayed this species of the bos. The group, therefore, in the present instance consists, conformably

with its legend, of a two-horned and a one-horned wild ox, and a wild goat or antelope: the antelope being comprized in the definitions, Agmen boum sylvestrium, by the analogy of the Arabic idiom, which has several roots, as ارخ, *erach* and شوء, *shawah*, signifying indifferently, Bos sylvester, "A wild ox," and Cervus, "A stag." The inscription further describes these oxen as in the act of *lowing;* and the attitude and expression, especially of the one-horned animal, strikingly corroborates this particular of the legend.

Among minuter differences, it is remarkable, that the conductors of the two sets of Bactrian camels, on the first and on the third side of the obelisk, are very differently attired; namely, the former, in fillets, with plain tunics, and the legs and feet bare: the latter, in Armenian caps, with rounded-off and bordered coats, and buskined sandals. Here are camels, certainly of the same country, with conductors apparently of wholly different nations. The remark does not hold good in the parallel case of the two sets of monkeys, upon the third and fourth sides of the obelisk. The keepers here are manifestly of the same stock, wear the same fashion of habiliments, and walk alike bare-legged and bare-footed. The elephants' tusks, on the contrary, which may

have come from very different parts, are borne by men in very different costumes.

CHANGE OF PERSONS IN THE FIRST TWO TABLETS.

In the two tablets which head the monument, we have the one subject represented in its two stages. We have the same king, the same condemned captive, and the same number of figures in both sculptures, but neither the same subordinate personages, nor the same apartment. In the first tablet, the king is in his hall of judgment, pronouncing sentence on a prostrate criminal, attended by his guards, and confronted by an officer of state and a eunuch. In the second, he has evidently left the hall of judgment for the place of punishment. The attendants now are all eunuchs. And the place of the officer of state is occupied by one of them, who inflicts the punishment of the bastinado. It is the genuine picture of an eastern tyrant, who, not content with ordering punishment, must see it also inflicted. This Assyrian barbarian was but the Mehemet Ali of his day.

ILLUSTRATIONS

FROM THE

OBELISK OF NIMROUD, MEDALLIONS,

ETC.

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COLUMN I. TABLE I.

ربز, *rabaz*, Manibus ambabus percussit.
Striking with both hands. (i. e. striking both hands together: clasping the hands.)

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit.
Following.

دابر, *dabar*, Assecla.
Attendants.

ربز, *rabaz*, Manibus ambabus percussit.
Striking with both hands. (i. e. striking both hands together: clasping the hands.)

بوبو, *bubu*, Princeps populi et magnus.
The prince of the people: the great king.

دبح, *dabah*, Incurvato dorso depressit caput, *et quidem* usque vel infra nates.
Bowing the back, with the head below it.

سبي, *subi*, Captivus.
A captive.

ارير, *arir*, Vocem extulit victoria exultans.
With voice of triumph.

ابخ, *abak*, Reprehendit, corripuit, objurgavit.
Reprehending, chiding, objurgating.

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وبخ, *wabak*, Comminatus fuit: graviter perstrinxit.
Threatening: heavily reproaching.

دغص, *dagas*, Ira plenus distentusve fuit.
Full of anger: boiling with rage.
("Then was Nebuchadnezzar full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed."—*Dan.* iii. 19.)

وتغ, *watag*, Culpam commisit, criminis reus.
One guilty of crime. A criminal.

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COLUMN I. TABLE II.

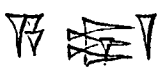
دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit. Coming behind. دابر, *dabar*. Assecla. Attendants.

ربز, *rabaz*, Manibus ambabus percussit. Striking with both hands.

אגר, *ājar*, Irruit, impetum fecit *in eum gladio* [*scutica*]. Assailing *any one with a sword* [*or scourge*].

رزب, *razab*, Satrapa. A satrap.

هور, *hwr*, Prostravit. Prostrating. Causing to fall prostrate.



ضرب, *tsarb*, Verberavit: *pec.* fuste percussit. Scourging: *especially* with a club or baton.

اریر, *arir*, Vocem extulit victoria exultans. With voice of triumph.

بعير, *bâir*, Ira in Deo. The anger of God.

دغص, *dagas*, Ira plenus distentusve fuit. Full of anger: boiling over with rage. (*Dan.* iii. 19. conf.)

وتغ, *watag*, Culpam commisit, criminis reus. One guilty of crime. A criminal.

Column I. Table III.

ربز, *rabaz*, Ambabus manibus percussit.
Striking with both hands.

بعير, *bāir*, Camelus. بعيرة, *bairt*, Camelus. Camela.
A camel. A camel. A she-camel.

جور, *jwr*, Verberavit.
Scourging.

حرص, *hars*, Fidit *cutem*.
Cutting *the skin*.

سدا, *sada*, Manum protendit rem versum.
Stretching out the hand towards anything.

شوشاة, *shushat*, Camela celeris, شوشا, *shusha*, Camela agilis incessu.
A fleet camel.

دغص, *dagas*, Ira plenus distentusve fuit.
Full of anger: overflowing with rage.

وتغ, *watag*, Culpam commisit, criminis reus.
One guilty of a fault. An offender.

Column I. Table IV.

بوبو, *bubu*, i. q. سرع, *sarā*, Celer fuit, citus, properus fuit.
Swift, rapid, speedy.
Properavit *ad aliquem*.
Hasting *towards any one*.

ربز, *rabaz*, Manibus ambabus percussit.
Striking with both claws.

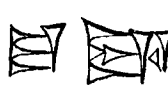
ذبح, *dzabah*, Fidit: discidit.
Cleaves: tears asunder.

شق, *shak*, Fidit *rem* et laceravit.
Cleaving *anything* and lacerating it.

بيح, *bih*, Concidit et partitus fuit carnes.
Breaking up and dividing the flesh.
مبيح, *mebih*, Leo. A lion.

جوذر, *jiwadzar*, Cervus: bos sylvaticus.
A stag.

دغص, *dagas*, Ira plenus distentusve fuit.
Full of anger. Swelling with rage.



وتغ, *watag*, Culpam commisit, criminis reus.
One guilty of crime. A criminal.

Column I. Table V.

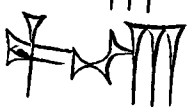
بابا, *baba*, i. q. لسرع, Simul properarunt.
Pressing on together.

رد, *rad*, Socius.
Companion: companions.

رهط, *rahat*, "Viri, sine ulla femina, a 2 aut 7 ad 10: *vel* quotcunque infra 10."*—*Golius.*
"Tres, aut septem, usque ad decem viri, *inter quos nulla est femina*."—*Freytag.*
"A number of men (without women) under ten."
—*Richardson.*

مدسع, *madasā*, i. q. هاد *pro* هادي, Director: ductor, dux viæ.
A director: a conductor: a road-guide.

بار, *bar* (*Pers.*), Porters, bearers, carriers.



ارب, *arb*, i. q. كلف, Suscepit agendum, adplicuit se: incubuit et institit *rei*.
Applying to any business: "putting the shoulders to the plough."

اربة, *arbat*, Res quam fieri necesse est negotium necessarium.

دردر, *dardar*, Dentes deflui. Shed tusks (i. e. elephant's teeth), and

درة, *darat*, omasum. Paunches.

دغس, مداغشة, *dagash*, *madagashat*, Premere invicem præ multitudine.
Crowding one upon another.

وزع, *wazā*, Dux rectorque aciei, prohibens confusionem.
The leader and directer of a march, preventing confusion.

* "Ebn Fares, in libro مجمل inscripto, contendit hanc vocem adhiberi in omnibus qui numerum quadraginta non excedunt."—*De Sacy ap. Freytag in voc.* رهط.

Pl. XXXVI. Fig. 1.

COLUMN II. TABLE I.

تجر, *tajar*, Mercaturam exercuit. تاجر, Mercator.
تجر, *tajr*, Trading. *Tujur*, Merchants.

تر, *tar*, i. q. سريع الركض, Celeriter pedes glomerans *veræ̆dus seu viatorius equus*.
Going well (*a roadster, or post-horse*). A well-paced horse: a good stepper.

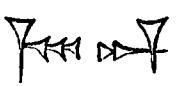
درج, *darj*, Gradatim promovit.
Causes to step out.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, sectatus fuit.
Coming after, following.

حاد, *had*, Agaso.
A groom.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, sectatus fuit.
Coming after, following.

يد, *id*, Manus.
The hand.

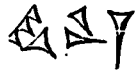


تدبر, *tadabar*, Pone fuit, sectatus fuit.
Coming after, following.

ذو, *dzu*, Dominus: possessor.
A master: an owner.

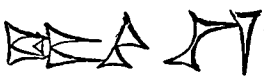
Attention is particularly called to the action in this tablet, and to its perfect agreement with its legend.

Column II. Table II.



رود, *rwd*, Pabulator, Aquator.
A purveyor, A water-carrier.

ربز, *rabaz*, Ambabus manibus percussit.
Striking (holding or grasping) with both hands.



اجر, *ajar*, Mercede *seu* pretio locavit *aliquam rem*. Merces ipsæ, et pretium conductionis.
Mercenarius publicus et communis, omnibus operam mercede præstans.
Selling *any thing* for money. Articles or wares sold for money.
Venders; hirelings.

ادب, *adab*, Invitavit ad epulum *seu* sumendum cibum.
Inviting to a feast, *or* to take food.
[This crying of the necessaries of life in the market-place, or streets of Nineveh, happily illustrates Isaiah lv. 1.: imagery plainly taken from this Eastern usage.]

دشيش, *dashis*, Triticum leviter molitum.
Wheat slightly softened.
seu
دُرو, *dhru*, Milii genus: *vulgo* dorra.
A kind of millet: *vulg.* durra.

بد, *bad*, Vendidit permutando *merces mercibus*.
Selling by barter or exchange.

عراضة, *āratsat*, Munus quod affertur offerturque: *pecul.* in cibum et commeatum.
A gift which is brought and offered: *especially* food and provisions.*

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, sectatus fuit.
Coming behind: following.

در, *dar*, Ferbuit mercium distractione *forum*.
A market noisy from the confusion of wares.

بداد, *badad*, Permutatis mercibus exercere inter se mercaturam. Exchanging their wares.

In this tablet, again, the legend and device are so completely in unison, that common attention only is needful, in order to perceive the self-evident correctness of the decypherment.

* This sale of supplies, on the road, or in the market-place, is just what might be expected in an Eastern caravan.

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COLUMN II. TABLE III.

ربرب, *rabrab*, Agmen boum sylvestrium.
A herd of wild oxen.

ردي, *radi*, Calcavit *terram ungulis suis equus* (*bos*). Calcavit validius terram.
Striking *the ground with the hoofs* (*a horse or ox*). Treading strongly on the ground.

جوار, *jwar*, Mugire (i. e. مجوار, *mujwari*) *bovem*.
Lowing. (*an ox*).

وعو, *wagu*, Vox et clamor.
Vociferation and clamour (i. e. Noise of bellowing).

بابا, *baba*, i. q. سرع, Simul properarunt.
Hasten together.

واذع, *wadzá*, Fons seu aqua fluens.
Running water: a spring well.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, sectatus fuit.
Coming after, following.

ادب, *adab*, Qui ad epulum invitat.
The inviter to a feast.

ספר יהושע פרק ז

Column II. Table IV.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, sectatus fuit.
Coming behind, following.

اراهط, *arahat*, Viri à 2, aut 7, ad 10.
A number of men from two to ten.

درب, *darab*, Ostiarii, janitores.
Porters: bearers,

بز, *baz*, Byssus, *seu potius*, pannus lineus, bombacinus: *etiam* sericus.
Fine linen. A rich garment. بز (*Pers*) A habit.
A rich dress. Fine linen (or silk).

وزع, *wazā*, Partiti sunt *inter se* et distribuerunt *rem*. (i. e. Dividing the weight between them.)

وتر, *watar*, Unum post alterum, seorsim et sigillatim, attulit. وترا وترا, Sigillatim, seorsim, unus post alterum venit.
Bringing things one after another. Coming singly one after another.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, successit, sectatus fuit.
Coming after, succeeding, following.

ذرو, *dzaru*, Milii genus, *scil.* melica, *vulgo* dora.
A kind of millet, *vulgarly called* dourra.
(i. e. contents of sacks, provision for road.)

بد, *bad*, Vendidit permutando *merces mercibus*.
Bartering: selling by barter.

بداد, *badad*, Sigillatim, unus post alterum.
Singly: one after another.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, successit, sectatus fuit.
Coming after, succeeding, following.

ربز, *rabaz*, Manibus umbabus percussit. (i. e. grasping with both hands)

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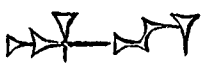
COLUMN II. TABLE V.

رصاص, *rasas*, Venditor plumbi.
Venders of lead: plumbers.

ربز, *rabaz*, Implevit *utrem*.
Filling *a vessel*. (i. e. their *crucibles* filled?)

روي, *rwi*, Orichalcum.
Bell-metal.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, successit, sectatus fuit.
Coming after, succeeding, following.



ربس, *rabas*, Manibus ambabus percussit.
Striking with both hands. (i. e. both hands together.)

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, successit, sectatus fuit.
Coming after, succeeding, following.

درا, *dara*, Expandit *ram*.
Expanding (the hands and arms).

بداد, *badad*, Sigillatim, unus post alterum.
Singly: one after another.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, successit, sectatus fuit.
Coming after, succeeding, following.

ربز, *rabaz*. Manibus ambabus percussit.
Striking with both hands. Clapping hands.

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Column III. Table I.

برر, *barr*, Propulit *ovem* (*camelum*).
Driving *the camel*.

وبخ, *wabak*, Comminatus fuit. Graviter perstrinxit.
Threatening. Scolding.

ربح, *rabah*, Cameli *qui vænum ducuntur*.
Camels *brought for sale*.

برح, *barah*, Camela præstans.
A choice she-camel.

دبر, *dhbar*. Pone fuit, sectatus fuit,
Coming behind, following.

وثغ, *watsag*, Contudit.
Beating, striking, bruising.

شوشة, *shushat*, Camela agilis incessu.
A fleet she-camel.

برح, *barah*, Camela præstans.
A choice she-camel.

ضرب, *tsarb*, Verberavit, *pecul.* fuste percussit.
Beating, *especially* striking with a stick.

وعد, *rād*, Terrorem incussit *vir*: minatus fuit.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, sectatus fuit.
Coming behind, following.

رشيد, *rashid*, Dux rectæ viæ ac director.
A director: a conductor: a guide.

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هراوة, *haraut*, Fustis, baculus: clava. A club: a stick: a cudgel.

اري, *ari*, Adduxit, attulit. Bringing: carrying.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, sectatus fuit. Coming after, following.

ادو, *adw*, Paratus et accinctus fuit *ad iter*. Prepared and girt *for a journey*.

دبة, *dabat*, Cucurbita. A gourd (gourd cup).

بد, *bad*, Distribuit dona *inter plures*, cuique suam largiens portionem.

Distributing gifts *among many*, and their proper portion to each. (i. e. "a cup of cold water.")

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, sectatus fuit. Coming after, following.

وزع, *wazá*, Dux rectorque aciei, prohibens confusionem.
The leader and director of the ranks, whose office is to prevent confusion.

وضيعة, *watsiāt*, Quod ad onera et impedimenta *hominum iter facientium* pertinet.
What pertains to the burthens and baggage *of men making a journey*.

دربان, *darban*, Ostiarius, janitor.
"A porter."

دبر, *dabar*, Successit, sectatus fuit. Succeeding, following.

دابر, Sequens, assecla. A follower, an attendant.

رص, *ras*, Plumbo illivit. Soldering.

رصاص, *rasas*, Venditor plumbi. A vender of lead, a plumber.

بداد, *badad*, Sigillatim, unus post alterum.
Singly: one after another.

Fig. 1. Ein Stier, welcher von einem Manne mit einem Messer getödtet wird.

Column III. Table III.

ذرع, *dzarā*, Brachiis amplexus fuit.
Clasping with the arms.

رهو, *rahu*, Dimovit, diduxitque ab invicem, pedes.
Parting asunder the feet: straddling.

ابدة, *abdat*, Animal fugax.
A fugacious animal.

وزوزة, *wazwazat*, Celeritas assultus, insultusve.
"Springing or leaping upon."—*Richardson*.

ادب, مودب, *adab*, *mawadab*, Præceptor morum, magister, castigator.
A preceptor, a master, a schooler.

وعر, *wār*, Inhibuit, continuit, impedivit.
Hampering, holding back, impeding.

بري, *bari*, Agrestis, sylvaticus.
A wild creature, a wild beast of the woods.

رباح, *rabah*, Simia mas.
A male ape.

وزوزة, *wazwazat*, Celeritas assultus, insultusve.
Springing or leaping on.

ظهر, *tahar*, Con scendit supernè *domum* (*dorsum*, *tergum*).
Ascending upon *a house* (*or upon the back*).

بابا, *baba*, i. q. سرع, Citò citò.
Quickly.

ربز, *rabaz*, Manibus ambabus percussit.
Seizing with both hands.

COLUMN III. TABLE IV.

ربز, *rabaz*, Manibus ambabus percussit.
Grasping with both hands.

شطر, *shatar*, Procul tendens.
Far-journeying.

عرير, *ārir*, Peregrinus.
A foreigner: a pilgrim.

بغز, *bagaz*, Fuste percussit. (*hinc* fustis?)
Striking with a club. (a club?)

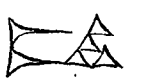
ارز, *arz*, Arbor quædam durissimi ligni.
"A tree whose wood is very hard. — *Rich.*"
(i. e. wood for the manufacture of clubs?)

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, sectatus fuit.
Coming after, following.

رهو, *rahu*, Leniter quietèque incessit.
Moving slowly and quietly along.

بوس, *bush*, Multitudo et cœtus hominum: eaque *ab diversis tribibus*. Miscella hominum turba.
A multitude and crowd of men: and that of diverse tribes. A mixed throng of men.

ددر, *dardar*, Dentes defui,
Shed tusks. (i. e. elephants' teeth.)



ذرو, *dharw*, Milii genus: *scil.* melica, *vulgo* dora.
Durrha.

ואז ישבו על הארץ לדום שבעת ימים ושבעת לילות ואין מדבר אליו דבר כי ראו כי גדל הכעס מאד׃

Column III. Table V.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, successit, sectatus fuit.
Coming behind, one after another, following.

برر, *barr*, Rectè processit *illis*, et rite ac juste peracta fuit, peregrinatio suscepta.
Proceeding orderly, and duly and regularly accomplishing an undertaken journey.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, successit, sectatus fuit.
Coming after, succeeding one another, following.

ورد, *warad*, Aquator.
The water-carrier.

روي, *rwi*, Apportavit, seu propinavit *suis*, hausitque aquam.

راوية, *rawit*, Uter aquarius major.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, successit, sectatus fuit.
Coming after, succeeding one another, following.

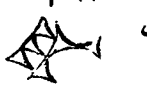
رشيد, *rushid*, Dux rectæ viæ ac director.
The guide and director on the right way.
A road-guide.

شرب, *sharb*, Bibendum dedit. Giving to drink. Propinavit *alteri*. Giving to drink *to another*.

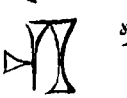
شربة, *sharbat*, Portio *aquæ*, quâ expleri sitis queat, *aut* quod una vice bibitur.
A portion *of water* sufficient to slake the thirst, *or* which may be drunk at a single draught.

راوية, *rawit*, Uter aquarius major.
A large water-skin.

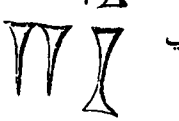
دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, successit, sectatus fuit.
Coming behind, succeeding, following.



دب, *dab*, Cucurbita.
A gourd. (i. e. the water-cup in the guide's hand.)



جرة, *jarah*, Aqualis, hydria, vas ferendæ aquæ proprium.
A water-vessel (water-skin), a vessel for carrying water.

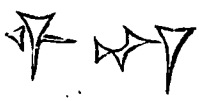


هوي, *hwi*, Exporrexit et protendit *rem* : ut quoque et *manum suam* ad capiendum quid.
Reaching forth and holding out *anything* : also *the hand* to take anything.
(Both actions here represented.)

Column IV. Table I.

عضد, *ātsed*, Brachium supposuit.
Placing the arm under any thing: supporting with the arms.

درة, *darut*, Omasum.
A paunch.



دوار, *dardar*, Sonus tympani. The sound of a drum, and
دوب, *darab*, A large brazen kettle-drum.

هزيز, *hazix*, Reciprocatus tonitru fragor, *et in genere*, Sonus.
The reverberation of thunder. Sound. ("The *double double sound* of the *thundering* drum.")

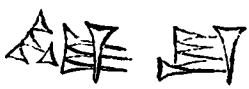
عرير, *ārir*, Peregrinus. Foreigners: pilgrims.

بابا, *baba*, i. q. سرع, *sarā*, Properavit *cum aliquo*. Simul properarunt.
Speeding on *with others*. Journeying in company.

ذعاع, *dzāaâ*, Agmina, catervæ. Bands, companies.

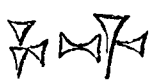
دادا, *dada*, Compressit se *populus*. People thronging together.
دادافي اثرة, "Secutus à tergo fuit."—*Golius*.
"Proxime secutus est *eum*."—*Freytag*. Following behind. Following in immediate succession.

Column IV. Table II.



عضد *ātsad*, Brachium supposuit.
Placing the arm under any thing. Supporting with the arms.

درة *darat*, Omasum.
A paunch.

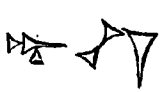


رحب *rahab*, Ampla et capax olla.
A capacious caldron.

بد *bad*, Vendidit permutando *merces mercibus*.
Bartering: selling by barter.

دربان *darban*, Ostiarius, janitor.
A porter, a bearer.

عدا *āda*, Alii post alios.
Following one another.



رص *ras*, Firmiter cohæserunt inter sese *homines* in serie sua.
A series *of men* keeping close together in line.

ﻭﻫﺬﻩ ﺻﻮﺭﺓ ﺍﻟﺮﺟﻞ ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﻳﺴﻤﻰ ﺍﻟﻔﻴﻠﺴﻮﻑ ﻭﻫﻮ ﻳﺒﻜﻲ ﻭﻳﻨﻮﺡ

COLUMN IV. TABLE III.

عضد, *ăṭṣad*, Brachii vinculum. A chain for the arm.

اعضاد, Quæ circumstant rem *et cingunt*. What encircles *and girds* any thing

دار, *dar*, Quod frequenter penditur *tributum*.
"Frequently paid *tribute*." — *Richardson*.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, successit, sectatus fuit.
Coming after, succeeding, following.

بداد, *badad*, Sigillatim, unus post alterum.
Singly, one after another.

رباح, *rabah*, Simia mas.
A male ape.

رجح, *rajah*, Repletæ *cibo* lances.
The jaws full *of food*.

بطر, *batar*, Hilaritate effusus, insolens. Petulantem et insolentem se gessit.
Riotously mirthful, insolent. Bearing himself petulantly and insolently.

ادب, مودب, *adab*, *mawadab*, Præceptor morum, castigator.
A trainer, a schooler.

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, sectatus fuit.
Coming behind, following.

رهو, *rahu*, Commode, ac leniter, quieteque incessit.
Walking leisurely, gently, and quietly.

Ⅱ

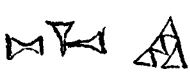
Column IV. Table IV.

عضد, *ātsad*, Brachium supposuit.
Placing the arm under. Supporting with the arm.

دردر, *dardar*, Dentes deflui.
Shed tusks. (i. e. the elephant's teeth.)

دبر, *dabar*, Pone fuit, successit, sectatus fuit.
Coming after, succeeding, following.

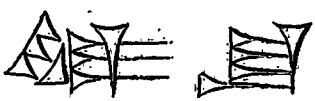
سرع, *sarā*, Simul properarunt.
Hasting on, journeying together.



درج, *darj*, Gressus et gradatim progressus fuit.
"Proceeding on the road." — *Richardson*.

四

COLUMN IV. TABLE V.



عضد, *ātsad*, Brachium imposuit supposuitve.
Placing the arm on or under any thing.
Supporting with the arm.

ذرة, *dzarat*, *pro* ذرو, *dzaru*, Milii genus, *scil.* mollica, *vulgo* dora.
A kind of millet, the grain called *dhoura*.

Assyrian or Babylonian Seal.

(British Museum; No. 106.)

رزب, *razab*, مرزبان, *marazban*, Magorum princeps. Satrapa. The prince of the Magi. A satrap.

رعاة, *rāāt*, Struthiocamelus fœm. A female ostrich.

وطش, *watash*, Protendit *in adversarium*, qui feriebat, manum suam, repellendi ergo.

Reaching out the hand *against an adversary* who strikes at you, for the purpose of repelling him. (i. e. the winged human figure, holding at arm's length the two ostriches, to prevent their clawing him.)

زدو pro نسدو, *zadu*, Manum protendit rem versus. Manus ad rem protensio.

Stretching out the hand towards any thing. The extension of the hand to a thing.

تاي, *tai*, i. q. نسبق, *sabak*, Prævertit. Antevertere, aut præcellere ac vincere studuit. Præcurrit.

Anticipating, outstripping, overcoming. Being beforehand with. Outrunning. (i. e. the winged human figure, the two ostriches.)

سطع, *satā*, Longitudo colli. Long-necked.

شحا, *shahu*, Patuit, apertum fuit, *os*. Hians *ore*. Aperuit *os suum*.

Gaping, open-mouthed. Gasping. Opening *his mouth*.

(Look at the two ostriches.)

تعتع, *tātā*, Vi traxit. Invitum detinuit. Dragging by force. Detaining against the will.

صرع, *sarā*, Prosternere studuit, colluctatus fuit
"Wrestling: throwing down." — *Richardson.*

صرعة, *surāt*, Prostrator: qui sæpe prosternit.
"A skilful wrestler."— *Richardson.*

ساحر, *sahar*, i. q. عضه, Magus: fascinator: incantator.
A Magian: a magician: an enchanter.

حرض, *jarts*, Præfocatus fuit. Suffocated. Suffocating.

جريض, Interceptio spiritus in gutture et præfocatio.
Interception of the breath in the throat and suffocation.

رزب, *razab*, مرزبان, *marzibān*, Magorum princeps. The prince of the Magi.

بست seu بسط, *bast*, Incessus qui distentis fit passibus, cursui similis. Expandit (*uti* alus).
A kind of running pace, and

بسط, *bast*, Expanding (the wings).

ريش, *raysh*, Pluma, penna, *pl.* ارياش, *ariash*, The wings. (Look at the action of the winged man.)

بك, *bak*, Contudit et fregit collum. Crushing and breaking the neck.
(Look at the action of the winged man.)

اهنع, *ahanā*, Collum æquabiliter inflexum, atque inde abbreviatum habens, *struthiocamelus*.
The concave curve in the neck of *an ostrich*. (I. e. The curve-necked *ostrich*.)

عنى, *āni*, Captivum fecit. Taking captive.

رض, *rads*, Contudit ac fregit. Bruising and breaking. (Look at the necks of the ostriches.)

رقب, *rakab*, Collum. Cervix. The neck. The hinder part of the neck.
(Look at the action of the man.)

اسطوانة, *astwan*, Longo collo præditus altusque, *quasi columnæ instar* (struthiocamelus).

صر, *sar*, Invitum coegit detinuitve.
Compelling or detaining unwillingly.

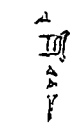
بدا, *badad*, Separatim, partitim. Separately, apart from one another.

ساحر, *sahar*, i. q. عضه, Magus: fascinator: incantator.
A Magian: a magician: an enchanter.

غبغب, *gabgab*, Jugulum. The throat.

دغر, *dagar*, Compressit arctavitque guttur, et strangulando necavit.
Compressing and squeezing the throat, and killing by strangulation.
(The whole action of the picture is contained in this last comprehensive word and definition.)

اوي, *awi*, i, q. جمع, Congregatus fuit, convenit in unum locum.
Assembling together, meeting in one place.



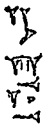
هادي, *hadi*, Dux, director, conductor.
A leader, guide, conducter.

دادا, *dada*, دادا (في اثرة), Secutus à tergo fuit.
Following the lead.

اوي, *awi*, متاوي, Agmen. A flock.

حبي, *haji*, Intelligens, gnarus. Sagacious, knowing.

قطا, *kata*, Avis columbæ similis magnitudine et formâ; quæ gregatim volat, et è longinquo *aquam petere novit*, voce Kathâ Kathâ edens: *unde illi nomen*.
A bird resembling the dove in size and form; which flies in flocks, and *has the faculty of detecting water* from a far off, &c.



وحي, *wahi*, Indicavit: revelavit.
Indicating, revealing.

ريه. *rih*, Aquæ abundans fons.
A copious well of water.

The subject of this signet would seem to be a band of Assyrian road-guides, or conducters, discovering water in the desert for their caravan, by following the guidance and cry of the Kathâ; a kind of lapwing, noted for its sagacious instinct in detecting, afar off, the existence of water. The arrow, *or* اثا, *atsa*, Petivit feriitque *sagittâ*, may represent the search after water under ground by the divining arrow.

وهب, *wahab*, Donarunt mutuo.
Giving quid pro quo. Presenting.

بد, *bad*, Vendidit permutando *merces mercibus*.
Bartering: Selling by exchange *of commodities*.

عجوة, *ājut*, Species optima dactylorum Medinensium, quorum palma لينة, *Linaton*, dicitur.
The best species of Medina dates, from the palm-trees denominated Linaton.

رز, *raz*, Complanavit, firmatum reddidit, *tibi negotium*.
"Smoothing, settling, *any business*."

ترك, *tarak*, Missum fecerunt inter se negotium.
Business left unsettled between parties.

جزح, *jazah*, "Ad negotium persequendum ivit."—*Freytag*.
Following up to a close any transaction.

خضض, *kats*, Vendidit credito ac velut mutuo dando.
Selling on credit, and as for mutual accommodation.

قطاع, *kataā*, Putatio palmæ. Ramus. Quod de arbore resecatur.
Palm cuttings. (Palm) branch. What is cut from a tree.

جري, *jari*, Consenserunt ac concordarunt *inter sese*.
Consenting and coming to an agreement *with each other*.

جرح, *jarah*, Comparavit, sibi acquirere studuit.
Purchasing, trying to make a purchase.

عجوة, *ājut*, Species optima dactylorum Medinensium.
The choicest kind of Medina dates.

خضض, *kats*, Vendidit credito, ac velut mutuo dando.
Selling on credit, and as for mutual accommodation.

راي, *rai*, Invicem viderunt.
Looking each other in the face: face to face.

قَيّ, *ki*, Valde famelicus et carens omni cibo.
An hungered: famishing.

قَاضٍ, *kads*, Judex: qui jus dicit.
The judge: the cadi.

اَزَ, *adz*, i. q. قَطَعَ, Amputavit, secuit.
Amputating, cutting.

جَحْجَاحٌ, *jahjah*, Aries (magnus).
A (great) ram.

عُودٌ, *āudyz*, Recenter, ante paucos dies, fœtum enixa fuit, *dorcas*, *equa*, *camela*, &c.
Newly, a few days since, bringing forth its young, *a deer*, *a mare*, *a she-camel*, &c. Hence, a fawn, a foal, a camel (or a lamb), of a few days old.

بَجَ, *baj*, Fidit. Confodit ac perfodit *hasta* (*culter?*).
Cleaving: stabbing, piercing, *a spear* (*a knife?*).

وَدَعَ, *wahi*, Ruptus, laceratus, et fissus fuit.
Ruptured, lacerated, cloven asunder.

وَدْمَةٌ, Juvenis (camelus) mactationi destinatus.
A youngling (camel) destined for sacrifice.

عجا, *āja*, Lactavit *infantem mate*
Suckling (*a mother her young*).

عجما, *ājma*, Brutum *quia* mutum. Any brute or beast.

عجوم, *ājwam*, Pulli camelini. Younglings (especially camels).

عضا, *'atsa*, Separavit divisim, et in membra dissecuit seu partibus fecit *ovem*.
"Cutting in pieces, dissecting (the limbs)." — *Richardson*.

ناض, *kads*, Judex: qui jus dicit.
The judge: the cadi.

ردیا, *radia*, Impotens, debilis, languidus, fuit.
Powerless, weak, languid.

عجا, *aja*, Lactavit *infantem mater*.
Suckling (*a mother her young*).

تر, *tar*, i. q. انقطع, Resectus fuit.[1]
Cut off, or out of.

شجع, *hajā*, Quievit et satiatus fuit *fames: pecul.* citra satietatem
"Appeasing, satisfying, *hunger: especially*, without satiety."

وطي, *wati*, Calcavit, conculcavit, *rem pede suo*.
Treading, trampling *under foot* (*anything*).

وهي, *wahi*, Ruptura affecit. Breaking: breaking in pieces.

قاض, *kads*, Judex: qui jus dicit. The judge: the cadhi.
"Cadi, *or* Cazi, a judge, civil, criminal, and *ecclesiastic*."—*Richardson.*

هشهث, *hatshats*, Valide conculcavit,
"Treading on with vehemence." Stamping under foot.

با, بااا, *baa*, Extulit: extulit se. Elevating: lifting up.

رسغ, *rasag*, Tarsus.
The heel: the ankle joint.

قاض, *kads*, Judex: qui jus dicit. The judge: the cadhi.

هشهث, *hatshats*, Valide conculcavit.
"Treading on with vehemence." Stamping vehemently.

بام, *nam*, Mussitavit, mentivit, fremuit, *dorcas.*
Murmurs, mutters, bleats, *a goat or deer.*
The cry of a goat or deer.

بغبغ, *bagibag*, Caper dorcadum pinguis.
A fat goat or buck.

ارب, *arb*, Parvus bruti pullus primum genitus.
"The small-sized young of any animal, being of the first birth."—*Richardson.*

هدى, *hadi*, Dono oblatus *seu* offerendus.
"Cattle carried to be sacrificed. *hadi*, Given as an offering."—*Richardson.*

Herodotus has fully explained the subject of this, and of all the Assyro-Babylonian cylinders where a fawn or kid appears in the arms of one of the figures. The passage is equally important as a comment on these cylinders, and as a testimony to the trustworthy fidelity, in whatever came under his own observation, of the father of history. Speaking of the temple of Jupiter Belis at Babylon, he thus writes: ἔξω δὶ τοῦ νηοῦ, βωμός ἐστι χρύσιος. ἔστι δὶ καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς μέγας, ὅπου θύεται τὰ τίλια τῶν προβάτων. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσίου βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν, ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μοῦνα.* "But without the temple, there is a golden altar. There is, also, another great altar whereon full-grown sheep are sacrificed. For, upon the golden altar, it is not lawful to sacrifice any save sucklings."*

The monogram on the cap of the sacrificing figure describes most graphically the action depicted:

وطي, *wati*, Calcavit, conculcavit *rem pede suo.*
"Treading under foot." Trampling down *anything with the foot.*

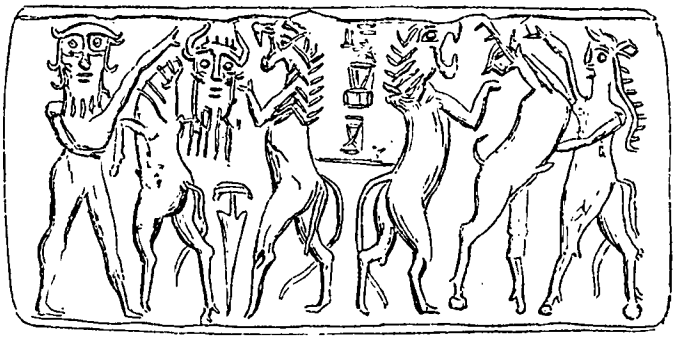
* Herodotus, Clio, p. 86. ed. Wesseling.

قاض, *kadı*, Judex; qui jus dicit.
The judge, the cadi who lays down the law, or pronounces sentence.

ارش, *arsh*, Lis, rixa, altercatio.
"A quarrel, lawsuit, altercation, squabble."

حجر, *hajar*, Prohibuit: interdixit,
Prohibiting: interdicting.

عت, *ăt*, Corripuit gravibus verbis.
Reproaching with bitterness.

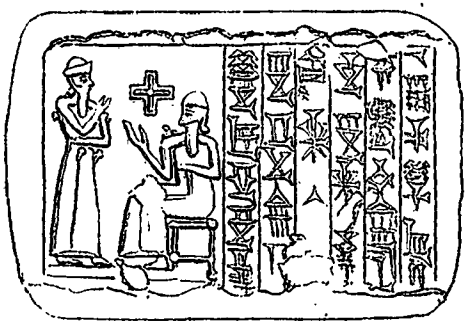


حمحم, *hamham*, Hinnivit *equus* pabuli ergo.
Neighing (*the horse*) for provender.

حمام, *hamam*, Leo (*etiam*, Heros, seu rex magnanimus).
The lion (*also*, a hero, or a great king).

وهوه, *wahwah*, Rugiit *leo*.
The lion roars.

نا, *nu*, Surrexit *contra alium*.
Rising up *against another*.



طوي, *tawi*, Accessit considendi ergo.
Coming for the purpose of sitting down with.

ساحر, *sahar*, i. q. عضه, Magus. A magician.
ساحرة, *sahart*, Magi. The magi.

حشك, *hashk*, Convenit et simul congregati fuerunt.
Meeting and assembling together.

هيط, *hit*, Congregati fuerunt inter sese ac convenerunt ad concinnandas res suas.
Assembling and meeting together for the settlement of their affairs.

عجر, *ājar*, Os obturavit, constrinxit.
Covering or tying up the mouth.

قوس, *kws*, Consensit et respondit viro altero.
Assenting and replying to another man.

حنج, *haj*, Argumentis et probationibus egit certavitve.
Inter sese argumentis ac probationibus certarunt, et causam dixerunt.
(Parties) disputing with each other argumentatively: reciprocally tending and proving.

رحرح, *rahrah*, Occultiore, nec aperto, usus fuit *sermone*.
Speaking enigmatically, or in occult senses.

قاض, *kads*, Judex, qui jus dicit.
The judge, the cadi: the expounder of the law.

شاي, *shai*, i. q. اسمع, Audivit, auscultavit. Dicto audiens fuit. Auscultavit, attendit.
Hearing, giving ear. Listening to what is said. Hearing attentively.

وحي, *wahi*, Indicavit. Suggessit. Revelavit.
Indicating. Suggesting. Revealing.

عوج, *āuj*, Inflexit, incurvavit.
Bending, inclining.
i. q. انعطف, Bene affectus, propensus, propitius, fuit *erga eum*
Well affected, disposed, propitious, *towards any one*.

قاض, *kads*, Judex, qui jus dicit.
The judge, the cadi, who pronounces sentence, or expounds the law.

هوي, *hwi*, Exporrexit et pr tendit *manum suam*.
Stretching forth *his hand*.

وجه, *wajah*, Coram opposuit se *altcri*, et vultui vultum.
Confronting *another*, standing face to face.

حضر, *hadsar*, Accessit *judicem*, coram *eo* apparuit.
Se præsentem statit contra *alium*, et adversus *eum* disceptavit *coram judice*.
Approaching *the judge*, appearing before *him*.
Appearing against *another*, and disputing against *him before the judge*.

سجيح, *sajah*, Lenibus commodisque verbis usus fuit.
Using soft and winning words.

دور, *dur*, Ambivit, circumivit.
Practising on, coming round.

ساحر, *sahar*, Magus. سحرة, *sahart*, Magi,
A magian. The magi.

صت, *sat*, Litigavit, certavit. Pugnarunt inter sese.
Dispute, contend. Fight among themselves.

شعوذة, *standzat*, Manuum agilitas, quâ velut acies aciei spectantium præstringitur.
Manual agility, by which the eye of the lookers on is, as it were, dazzled.

وهي, *wahi*, Ruptus, dilaceratus, et fissus fuit. Ruptura affecit. In partes concidit.
Breaking up (the fawn). Cutting up (the fawn).

عوج, *auj*, Inflexit, incurvavit. Bending (the knee).

قاض, *kads*, Judex: qui jus dicit. A judge: a cadhi.

اراخ, *arach*, Cervus. A deer. (The fawn.)

بجع, *bajā*, Amputavit *gladio*, secuitve.
Amputating, cutting with *a sword* (or whinger).

حجاب, *hajab*, Diaphragma. The diaphragm.

أرب, *arb*, Parvus bruti pullus primum genitus.
"The small-sized young of any animal, being of the first birth."
—*Richardson*.

قد, *kad*, Secuit per longum fiditve. Fissus et per oblongum sectus fuit.
Cutting lengthways, cleaving. Cloven and cut lengthways.

هجهاج, *hajhaj*, Pavidus. Pavida (*dorcas f*). Timid. (A timid *deer f*)

عجبا, *ajba*, Quæ admirationi est propter pulchritudinem.
Anything admired on account of its beauty.

حر, *har*, Pullus dorcadis. A fawn.

رهوج, *rahuj*, Debilis, tener ac mollis. Weak, tender, and delicate.

وجه, *wajch*, Coram opposuit se *alteri*, et vultui vultum.
Confronting *another* face to face.

قضاة, *kadsat*, Judices, cadis.
The judges, the cadis.

صرع, *sarā*, Colluctatus fuit. Colluctatores.
Contending together. Antagonists.

كظ, *kaṭ*, Gravi inimicitia persecuti fuerunt invicem.
Pursuing each other with deadly enmity.

سوي, *swi*, Æqualis et par fuit *alteri*.
Equal to and a match for *another*.

بها, *bahu*, Gloriati inter se fuerunt, et de præstantia contenderunt.
Boasting themselves in rivalry, and contending for superiority.

قضاة, *katsat*. Judices, qui jus dicunt.
The judges, the cadis, who give judgment.

سكر, *sakar*, Æstuavit irâ, valde iratus fuit.
Boiling with anger, overcome with rage.

طعن, *tān*, Maledixit *ei*, obtrectando petivit dictis.
Abusing *another*, seeking with abusive words.

بدو, *badu*, Commonstrarunt et gesserunt inimicitias inter sese.
Manifesting and carrying on enmity reciprocally.

حجز, *hajaz*, Prohibuerunt ac distinuerunt invicem.
Prohibiting and hindering one another.

كاح, *kuh*, Invicem male tractarunt.
Treating each other badly.

عدا, *āda*, Invicem infesti fuerunt et inimici. Dissidium inter eos ortum fuit.
Mutually hostile and inimical. Strifes spring up between them.

كاح, *kuh*, Invicem male tractarunt.
Treating each other badly.

كظ, *kat*. Gravi inimicitia persecuti fuerunt invicem.
Pursuing each other with mutual hostility.

Let this whole decypherment be compared only with the action of the figures, which speaks for itself.

وهي, *wahí*, Ruptura affecit. Dilaceravit: fidit.
Breaking. Lacerating, cleaving, cutting open.

قاض, *kads*, Judex: qui jus dicit. A judge: a cadi.

بدر, *badar*, Pellis *agnina* seu *hædina*.
A *lamb's* skin: a *kid's* skin.

قاض, *kads*, Judex: qui jus dicit. The judge: the cadi.

ذبح, *dzabah*, Sacrificavit. Fidit: discidit. Jugulavit: mactavit.
Sacrificing. Cleaving: cutting in sunder. Cutting the throat: offering in sacrifice.

عجا, *āja*, Lactavit *infantem mater*. Suckling (*an infant*).

عجي, *aji*, A suckling.

ارب, *arb*, Parvus bruti pullus, primum genitus.
A first-born youngling of a brute creature.
"The small-sized young of any animal, being of the first birth."
— *Richardson*.

رغوث, *rāguts*, Septem dierum pullus.
A suckling seven days old.

تاتا, *tata*, Vacillans infantis incessus.
"The tottering gait of infancy."—*Richardson*.
The staggering of a youngling, or suckling.

طهر, *tahar*, Mundus, purus, sanctus, reddidit: purificavit. Quo quid mundatur, aut purificatur.
"That by which anything is purified or cleansed."—*Richardson*

ذرع, *darā*, A collo et cervice excoriavit *ovem*.
Flaying *a sheep*, beginning from the throat and neck. (See the next glyphograph.)

اب, *ab*, "Commovit manum *ad gladium*."—*Freytag*.
Putting the hand to the sword.
"Manum extendit gladio."—*Golius*.
Reaching forth the hand to the sword.
"And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son."—*Gen.* xxii. 10.

قاض, *kads*, Judex: qui jus dicit. A judge: a cadi.

وهط, *wahat*, Occidit, interfecit. Killing: slaying.

وطي*, *wati*, Calcavit, conculcavit, *rem pede suo*.
Treading, trampling on, *anything with the foot*.
Pedem imposuit solo.
Planting the foot on the ground.
"Treading under foot, putting the foot to the ground: *or* making an impression with it."—*Richardson*.

* See monogram on head of sacrificer, as in the preceding examples. It is scarcely necessary to point out the compound evidence for the decypherment, arising from the uniform recurrence of this legend and device.

نسر, *nasar*, Aquila. Vultura.
An eagle. A vulture.

جحش, *jahash*, Dorcas.
A doe.

سطا, *sata*, Impetum fecit. Dominatus fuit.
Making an attack, assaulting, overpowering.

نسب, *sab*, f. q. عقر, Sauciavit. Wounding.

تشبث, *tashabats*, Ungues infixos habuit, *ut fera in prædam*.
Having the talons infixed, *as a wild beast in its prey*.

وهي, *wahi*, Ruptus, dilaceratus, et fissus fuit.
The being broken, torn, split.

هت, *hat*, Laceravit. Fregit, confregit, rupit.
Lacerating. Breaking: breaking to pieces.

رتسخ, *ratsach*, Contudit, confregitque caput.
Bruising, and breaking the head.

عاج, *āaj*, Curvus, distortus fuit. معاج, *moaj*, Baculus.
Curved, crooked. A (crooked) stick.
(See the *boomarang* crushing the doe's head.)

دغر, *dagar*, Impulit.
Impelling: hurling.

تغس, *tagas*, Pronum conjecit, prostravit.
Throwing down, prostrating.
(See the prostrated deer.)

رقط, *rakat*, Albi et nigri per puncta maculasve variegatio.
Variegation with black and white spots (i. e. of doe).

عبعب, *ābāb*, Caper in *dorcadum* genore.
A male deer. A species of goat (or deer).
(Hieroglyphic by the word, the hind leg of the deer.)

خاتية, *katit*, Aquila. The eagle.

سحث, *sahat*, Perdidit. Avulsit adipem e carne.
Destroying. Tearing the fat from the flesh.

سحط, *sahat*, Mactavit, et cum celeritate.
Slaughtering at one blow.

ثغا, *tsaga*, Vox dorcadis. The bleating doe.

نام, *nam*, Mussitavit, mutivit, fremuit, *dorcas*.
Murmurs, bleats, mutters, *the doe*.

تو, *tw*, Qui perit.
One who perishes or falls.

(Compare, with these definitions, the dying doe, wounded in the head by the throw-stick, prostrate and fallen.)

كوي, *kwi*, Conviciatus fuit *alter alteri*.
Abusing *each other*.

قضاة, *kadsat*, Judices, qui jus dicunt.
The judges, the cadis, who expound the law.

ندة, *nadah*, Increpuit.
Increpating, inveighing loudly, bawling out.

هايعة, *haiāt*, Vox vehementior incutiens terrorem.
A loud voice, striking terror.

عت, *āt*, Contendit verbis, altercatus fuit *cum alio*.
Waging wordy war, wrangling *with another*,
seu
عدا, *āda*, Invicem infesti fuerunt. Mutually hostile.

وهق, *wahak*, Paria fecerunt *in aliqua re*.
Well-matched *in their doings*.

زرا, *zara*, Objurgavit. Objurgating.

رن, *ran*, Vociferatus fuit. Vociferating.

وحي, *wahi*, i. q. وغي, Vox et clamor. Noise and clamour.

قضاة, *kadsat*, Judices, qui jus dicunt.
The judges, the cadis, who lay down the law.

مع, *mā*, Simul, unà cum. Together, together with.

صعق, *sāk*, Vehemens sonus, clamor. Loud noise, clamour.

داو, *dāu*, Provocarunt invicem. Provoking one another. *seu* ذرع, *dzarā*, Expandit manus. *or* Expanding the hands.

وحي, *wahi*, Revelavit. Reveals.

قاض, *kadi*, Judex, qui jus dicit.
The judge, the cadhi, who declares the law.

راث, *rai*, Doctus, eruditus vir, talisque doctor: *spec.* divinarum rerum.
A learned, erudite man, and such a doctor: *especially* of divine things.

شحا, *shahu*, Aperuit *os suum*.
Opening *his mouth*.

بهر, *bahar*, Admirandam adduxit protulitve rem
Adducing or revealing a marvellous thing.

راي, *rai*, Invicem viderunt. Ex adverso spectavit.
Facing one another. Looking at one opposite.

قاض, *kadi*, Judex, qui jus dicit.
The judge, the cadhi, who expounds the law.

رات, *rat*, Doctus, eruditus vir, talisque doctor: *spec.* divinarum rerum.
A learned, erudite man, and such a doctor: *especially* of divine things.

شحا, *shahu*, Aperuit *os suum*.
Opening *his mouth*.

ابخ, *abak*, Reprehendit, corripuit, objurgavit.
Reproving, censuring, objurgating.

رحرح, *ruhrah*, Occultiore, nec aperto, usus fuit *sermone*.
Using more occult, not open, *speech*.

قاض, *kads*, Judex, qui jus dicit.
The judge, the cadhi, who expounds the law.

رحرح, *rahrah*, Occultiore, nec aperto, usus fuit *sermone*.
Using occult, and not open, *speech*.

شحا, *shahu*, Aperuit *os suum*.
Opening his *mouth*.

وهي, *wahi*, Ruptura affecit. Breaking.

قاض, *kads*, Judex: qui jus dicit. A judge: a cadhi.

هشپث, *hatshats*, Valide conculcavit.
"Treading on with vehemence." Stamping under foot.

عوج, *āuj*, Inflexit, incurvavit. Bending, incurvating.

رسغ, *rasag*, Tarsus. The ankle-joint.

عرج, *ārj*, Claudum fecit. Laming.

عرجا, *ārja*, Hyæna, quia claudicat.
The hyæna, because he limps.

قاض, *kads*, Judex: qui jus dicit. A judge: a cadhi.

احن, *ahan*, Iratus fuit, succensuit. Angry, enraged (with any one).

عرد, *ārd*, Extulit se. Draws himself up.

هبط, *habt*, Percussit eum. Striking *any one*.

قاض, *kads*, Judex : qui jus dicit. A judge: cadhi.

احن, *ahan*, Iratus fuit, succensuit. Angry, enraged (with any one).

أبس, *abs*, i. q. قهر, Vicit, subjugavit, subjecit sibi.
Vanquishing, subduing, subjecting to himself.

ربز, *rabaz*, Manibus ambabus percussit.
Striking (seizing) with both hands.

أبر, *abar*, Perdidit exitio dedit.
Destroys, gives to destruction.

نام, *nam*, Rugiit *leo*, *The lion* roars.
(The roaring lion.)

أسم, *asam*, Leo. The lion.

رعب, *rāb*, "Incantans." — *Freytag*. "Amuletum magicum." — *Golius*.
Incantating. A magical amulet.

أب, *ab*, Paravit se, accinxit et applicuit se, corpore vel animo.
Preparing himself, girding up and applying himself, body or mind.

رزب, *razab*, Magorum princeps.
The prince of the magi.

غذا, *gadza*, i.q. نحرع, Prostravit, humi stravit, prosternere studuit.
Prostrating, dashing to the ground, aiming to prostrate.

ابر, *abar*, Perdidit, exitio dedit.
Destroying, giving to destruction.

هر, *hur*, Leo. The lion.

اسم, *asam*, Leo. The lion.

رغم, *ragum*, Invitus ac renuens adactus, subjugatus fuit.
Unwilling and renitent, mastered and subdued.

وري, *wari*, Affecit læsitve *eum* in pulmone.
Wounding in the lungs.

عكر, *ākar*, Vulneravit. Wounds.
Palmæ. Palm-trees.

رب, *rab*, Rex. The king.

تب, *tab*, Perdidit. Destroys.

منعة, *manaāt*, Validus, generosus *leo*.
A strong and generous *lion*.

ورد, المتورد, *warad*, Fulvo colore fuit *leo*. *al-metwarad*, Leo.
A tawny-coloured *lion*. A lion.

وري, *wari*, Affecit læsitve in pulmone.
Wounded in the lungs.

رعط, *rāt*, Movit digitos ut evelleret.
Moving the fingers to pluck out.

عقيقة, *ākikat*, Sagitta in altum, directe in cœlum, jacta.
A high-shot arrow.

عايج, *āaij*, Stans. (*Awazjon, de corporibus erectis. — Golius.*)
Standing. (Used of bodies standing erect.)

عور, *āur*, Oculo uno privavit.
Depriving of one eye.

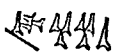
زير, *zir*, Rugiens *leo*.
A roaring *lion*.

اا, *aa*, Particula vociferantis.
A vociferous noise.

رقا, *raki*, Ascendit, extulit.
Ascending, standing erect.

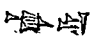
رن, *ran*, Vociferatus fuit.
Vociferates.

نمق, *namak*, Passa manu percussit *oculum ejus*.
Striking *one's eye* with the flat of the hand.
(i. e. the lion striking his wounded eye with his paw,)



ريس, *ris*, Princeps. The king.

سا, *saa*, i. q. عدي, Ad cursum impulit *equum*.
Urging *a horse* to full speed.



ردي, اارادي, *radi ar-radi*, Leo. A lion.

دغر, *dagar*, Invasit, et immisit se impetumque fecit *in hostem*.
Invading, making a charge *on an enemy*.

ساس, *sus*, Castigando subegit.
Castigating subdues.

هر, *hor*, Leo. A lion.

غرغر, *gargar*, Confodit hastâ in gutture.
Piercing the throat with a spear.

راي, *rai*, Invicem viderunt.
Meeting face to face.

CENTRAL SCULPTURE & TABLET AT BEHISTUN

Plate IV

THE

GREAT ARROW-HEADED INSCRIPTIONS

OF

BEHISTUN OR BISITUN.

THE account given by Colonel Rawlinson of the contents of the stupendous monument, sculptured on the perpendicular face of the mountain of Behistun, on the western frontier of Persia, is already familiar to all readers of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society: in Vol. X. Parts I. and II. of which Journal, finely executed Plates of the central pictorial subject, and of its surrounding inscriptions, appeared in 1846, 1847, accompanied by their gallant copyist's decypherments and translations. The novelty of the subject, however, and the necessarily limited diffusion of that learned Society's publication, will justify and excuse a brief prefatory notice, for the information of the general reader, of the results at which Colonel Rawlinson professes to have arrived. To this object, accordingly, I shall first address myself.

According to the authority in question, the monument at Behistun was executed by order

of the first of the Achæmenides, Darius Hystaspes, in commemoration of his descent and dynasty, of his wars and conquests, and of certain leading events of his reign (elsewhere unrecorded), including the rebellions and punishments of various provinces and satraps, all recorded by their names; and making the monument, consequently, a grand repertory of Persian proper names. Further, according to Colonel Rawlinson, the central tablet represents Darius himself, in the act of immolating his rebel satraps in honour of his god, Ormuzd; represented, according to him, by the mystic human figure in the air, over the king's head, enclosed in a vehicle of non-descript character, more mysterious, seemingly, than the figure itself.

Now, assuming all this to be so, we are at once provided with the best materials for an alphabet, an ample supply of proper names, and with the solution of the most difficult enigma in the whole monument; namely, the nature or character of the mysterious figure over the head of the king. Our business, however, is, not with assumptions, but with proofs. And in search, upon the first principle of the present Work, of the only admissible proofs, we must now return once more from the theoretical* to the experimental.

* The effort has been made to take the Grotefend system of decypher-

Before we resume, in entering on this new field, the path of experiment, I would say a few words on the subject of the figure in the air. The design of this emblem, of so frequent recurrence upon the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian monuments, has long been a question of doubt among the learned. In one thing only they seem commonly agreed, that it is the representation of some supernatural being. Among the writers of our own day, Colonel Rawlinson, we have seen, unhesitatingly, on the ground of his own decypherments, pronounces this figure to be the representative of the Persian deity, *Ormuzd*. An earlier visiter to Behis-

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ment out of the category of mere theory, by laying great stress upon the circumstance of the same renderings being simultaneously arrived at, in the decypherment of the same given inscription, by orientalists in the East, and in Europe; altogether in forgetfulness of the obvious fact, that there is precisely the same likelihood that the same wrong renderings should be drawn from the same wrong alphabets, as that the same right renderings should be deduced from the same right ones. The argument is a sophism which will not stand a moment's examination.

The coincidence in alleged discoveries, independently, in the East and in Europe, is brought to a narrowed, and still more critical test, when these alleged discoveries themselves consist of *Scripture proper names*, for which both parties are known to have been previously alike on the look-out; and which they find naturally, alike, in the use of a common theoretical alphabet. The unsatisfactoriness of the process is self-apparent, the uncertainty of its results may be measured by the known fact (already adverted to), that, by the same authority, the public has been assured, one year, that the name of Sennacherib was not to be found upon the monuments; from which, the next year, they hear of little else than the undoubted discovery of the name of Sennacherib.

tun, the late Sir Robert Kerr Porter, on the other hand, more cautiously, and perhaps not the less judiciously, while under the usual impression that it seems indicative of something super-human, leaves the question open, as one still undecided; yet which invites inquiry, and may, by possibility, one day reward it.* Agreeing with my predecessors as to the antecedent probability, I approached this much *vexata quæstio* without the least prejudice or preconception. If I had any previous impression, it was that the being thus represented might, not improbably, be supernatural; and it was only as the result of experiments upon the inscriptions, made without a thought of reference to the suspended figure, that I ascertained, certainly with more surprise than pleasure, that, at Behistun at least, the figure was that of a man. The discovery was the more disappointing, not only because it nullified the whole new history of the Persia of the Achæmenides, drawn with so great labour, by theoretical decypherment, from this monument; but because it reduced the contents of the inscriptions from the assumed dignity of history,—of the history of the first

* "These inscriptions might elucidate the true meaning of the hovering figure in the air, and say which conjecture is right,—that it is a guardian spirit, or a second self; *or, in declaring both to be wrong*, pronounce its proper signification."—*Porter*, vol. ii. p. 158.

and greatest of the Achæmenides,— to the comparative insignificance of a battological commentary upon the monument itself; upon the manner of its execution; upon the subject of the central picture; and upon the means employed, and the skill displayed, by the artist, who is himself no other than the figure suspended in the air.

I have anticipated the conclusion: I would now invite my readers to accompany me through the steps which so unexpectedly conducted to it. Walking by the Baconian rule, on the via sacra of experimental philology, when the plates of the Behistun monument first fell into my hands, the only course open to me was to essay the recovery of the alphabet, by the application, in this case as in all preceding cases, of the fundamental principle of my work,—viz. "that characters of the same known forms, are to be assumed to have the same known powers." Tried by this test (all mere single strokes, and groups of strokes, being treated, as self-evidently they should be treated, as vowels, or vowel points*), the forty characters to which Colonel Rawlinson

* The subjoined extract from Col. Rawlinson's "Comparative Table of the Persian Cuneiform Alphabet, according to the different Systems of Interpretation," will clearly show, that the above principle is admitted, by the whole Grotefend school, to an extent, which renders it impossible for them, consistently or rationally, to set limits to its application. The

and his coadjutors had raised the Behistun alphabet, were quickly reduced to about ten: an alphabet nearly according, in scale, with the old Phœnician, which consisted of thirteen letters only; and with the old Cadmeian, which extended only to sixteen. Allowing for the

reader will here see, that two of the vowels, *a*[*] and *o*, or rather four of them, *a*, *e*, *i*, and *o*, are admitted by them all to be formed of groups of single strokes, or javelin heads. With the exception, that Messrs. Burnouf, Lassen, and Rawlinson, *versus* Messrs. Grotefend, Heeren, Saint Martin, and Klaproth, treat a second form of the *e* as *k*. But, if so many of the vowels, by their own confession, are composed of single strokes, or groups of single strokes, it is only reasoning from their own analogy, to assume that all the single strokes, and groups of single strokes, are either vowels, or vowel points, introduced into the text as in the Rabbinical Hebrew. It is the office of experiment to make good the assumption. But the framers of *theoretical* alphabets, who admit the principle in part, never can disprove its application, as applied in the present work, to the whole of the single-stroke characters or groups.

No.	Character.	Grotefend, from Heeren, 1821.	Saint Martin, from Klaproth, 1832.	Burnouf, 1836.	Lassen, 1836.	Lassen.		Adopted in the present Memoir. 1845.		
						1839.	1844.	Sanskrit.	Zend.	English.
1	𐎠	é *and* á	a	á	á	á a	á	...	...	á *or* a (*init.*)
2	𐎡	ó	y	ó	i	i i	i	...	...	i
3	𐎢	ú	ou	u	u	ú u	u	...	...	u
4	𐎣	é	e	k	k	k	k	क	ꬰ	k

[*] The first letter of the alphabet is nearly the sole instance, in which Col. Rawlinson's Alphabet and mine happen, independently, to coincide. It has been well observed as natural, that the first letter should, originally, have been formed by *a plain down stroke*. The arrow-headed *a* consisted, originally, of three down strokes; afterwards united into one character, by a horizontal stroke, or javelin head, above.

fanciful introduction of their favourite weapons of war, arrow heads and javelin heads, in the formation of their alphabetic characters, the characters themselves were mostly of forms far too familiar to be missed or mistaken. Foremost among them were the Greek, the Latin, or the honest English, K; the old Hebrew, and actual Ethiopic, ⊤, *t*; the Ethiopic ⊬, *z*; the Greek *ν* and M, *n** and *m*; the Greek, Latin, and European ⊣, *e* or *ain*; the Greek Δ, *d*, singly and compoundly; and, lastly, the Greek ϒ, *b* or *pse*.

Having drawn out the radicals upon this simple and tangible principle, and disposed them in alphabetical order, I next commenced the task of experimental decypherment; with every wish, if no longer with any rational hope, of finding Colonel Rawlinson's historical interpretations, if not in the whole, at least in part, correct.

My first experiment was made upon a sentence or segment of the inscriptions, which, as it recurs no less than fifty-eight times in a total of four hundred lines, may not unappropriately be styled "the burthen of the song." Of the

* I may notice, in passing, that Col. Rawlinson's *n*, omitting its diacritic points, happens, also, to be mine; viz. 𒉌 and 𒉺 *n*.

amount of agreement, or rather of difference, between Colonel Rawlinson's alphabet and mine, the readers will judge by the fact, that what, in Colonel Rawlinson's pages, reads,

Thátiya . Dár(a)yawush . k'hsháyathiya,

by my experimentally formed alphabet, reads,

Wakar . wakâ . karnin . namak . kukî.

What these words separately, or the substance as a whole, might mean, I was, in the first instance, unaware. But treating them as old Arabic, and having recourse to the Arabic lexicon, I read, with great surprise, the following clearly consecutive, and closely connected, definitions:—

وقر, *wakar*. Fidit: fissurâ rupit. *Cutting, cleaving, making a fissure.*

وقع, *wakâ*. Percussit, cudit, tuditque *malleo*. *Striking, hammering, pounding, with a mallet.*

قرن, قرنين, *karn, karnin*. Plura simul junxit: *ita* complures *captivos* colligavit *uno fune*. Joining many things together: e. g. *Fastening many captives together by a single rope.*

نمق, *namak*. Scripsit, *exaravit, librum* [*tabellam*]. Eleganter ornavit: *pec.* scripturam. *Writing,* ENGRAVING, *a book* [*or tablet*]. *Ornamenting elegantly: especially a writing.*

كوكي, *kukî.* Curtus, pumilio. *A cut-short man, a dwarf.*

Acting always on the principle of legend and device, wherever pictures occurred in primitive monuments in conjunction with inscriptions, I next proceeded to test the newly rendered sentence by comparison with the subject of the great central pictorial tablet; whose character and very position argued self-evidently its integral connection with the whole surrounding tables. I will neither attempt to describe, nor affect to disguise, the sensation with which, at a first glance, I saw the word *karnin*, repeated in the inscriptions no less than fifty-eight times, elucidated by the actual phenomenon of *the train of captives fastened together by their necks by the single rope.** Whatever might be the value of the other definitions, here, at least, it was clear that there could be no mistake. Rather this one word was a guarantee, a priori, for the rest, had the rest needed the guarantee. But they

* It is mentioned somewhere by Burckhardt, that this most ancient mode of conducting captives is still in use among the African slave-merchants; and that he fell in, on the route between Soudan and Cairo, with a cafila of upwards of 500 slaves, all tied together by their necks with a single rope, and conducted by an escort of only five matchlock-men. The circumstance painfully exemplifies how effective have been the devices of human cruelty, in all ages, to render prisoners powerless; and thus to secure their safe custody and transmission with the least possible expenditure of means.

did not. For three of the remaining words describe the process of engraving, and the fourth, apparently, the engraver himself: in other words, the figure suspended in a vehicle in the air*, with the limbs so contracted, whether by nature or position, as to answer literally to the definition of the term *kukî*, or *The cut-short man.*

The key-sentence of the whole monument was now, apparently, unlocked; and the first ray of light admitted into its recesses. Still, however, it was but a single ray, and all beyond remained in Cimmerian darkness. If the sculptor himself stood revealed in the person of the mystic figure, his process of engraving, and the means by which he achieved his gigantic undertaking, with every thing else connected with the picture and inscriptions, remained still, if not inexplicable, at least unexplained. The position of the monument, as already described, alone clearly

* Even apart from this figure, the position of the monument, and its perpendicular elevation, might have suggested suspension in a crate, as the most likely mode for the artist to have wrought. Especially as this is the mode in which our masons work, at similar heights, upon the faces of our cathedral towers and other lofty buildings: indeed, upon the walls of buildings generally, whether lofty or comparatively low. My own attention was called to this fact, at the time I was first engaged upon the Behistun monument, by the coincidence of masons being actually employed, suspended in their crates, upon the adjoining church tower.

demonstrated the impossibility of its execution by any ordinary process, or without some extraordinary contrivance. To stand on ladders at a height of above two hundred feet, or to work on platforms raised to that dizzy elevation, seemed alike incredible suppositions. To execute, with the finest precision, a noble piece of sculpture, surrounded by exquisitely formed, ruled, and ornamental lines of characters, while the artist himself stood either in a perilous, or in a painful position, seemed a supposition yet more incredible. But, if ladders were of no avail, and platforms out of the question, how did the sculptor get there? how execute his accomplished task? The adventurous Englishman of our own day, Sir R. K. Porter, or Colonel Rawlinson*, found access to his labours only,

* The following is Col. Rawlinson's modest and soldier-like notice of his successful enterprise: "By the fortunate result of a visit which I was enabled again to make to the rock of Behistun, in the autumn of last year (1845),—I succeeded in copying the whole of the Persian writing at that place, and a very considerable portion of the [so called] Median and Babylonian transcripts. I will not here speak of the *difficulties* or *dangers* of the enterprise. They are such as any person, with ordinary nerves, may successfully encounter; *but they are such*, at the same time, *as have alone prevented the inscriptions from being, long ago, presented to the Public*, by some of the numerous travellers who have wistfully contemplated them from a distance."—*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x. part i.; *Prelim. Remarks*, pp. 15, 16. "The difficulties and dangers" here barely indicated, but more fully described by Porter, which wholly scared so many of our civilians, had no existence in the reckoning of the British soldier. They were not the less real or for-

it appears, by being drawn up the face of the cliff with ropes. In this way, the latter inge-

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midable; and in no third instance do they appear to have been surmounted, save by a gallant naval officer, the Colonel's compagnon de voyage, to whom he thus expresses his obligations, in having been "fortunately able to avail himself of the ready hand of Lieutenant Jones, an accomplished officer of the Indian navy, who has delineated the sculptures of Behistun [a most important service], and contributed, in a great measure, to the execution of the text." — *Ib. ut suprà*, p. 16.

Porter's account of his only mode of ascent to the tombs of Nakshi Roustam (similarly placed in the face of a perpendicular mountain), is still more to the purpose. "Having fully examined the exterior of the tombs, my next object was to penetrate their interior; an attempt of no little danger as well as fatigue. There were no other means by which a stranger to these heights could reach them, but by the expedient of tying a rope round his waist, and some strong arms above hauling him upwards. I immediately looked out for assistants. My Mehmandar was at his stories and forebodings again, for tempting such dæmon-wrought places. But the peasantry of this district seemed to know better than to fear either deev or difficulty; and one of them, more active and sinewy than the rest, managed to scramble up the perpendicular cliff, like a rat hanging by a wall; and, gaining the ledge of the platform, or vestibule to the tomb, he lowered down a rope, by which some of his nimble companions assisted themselves in ascending. I followed the example, by fastening the rope round my waist, and, by their united exertions, was speedily drawn up to the place of rendezvous. The distance was sufficiently high from the ground to give me time for thought; and during my ascent, in a manner so totally dependent on the dexterity of others, I could not but recollect the fate of half a dozen kinsmen of Darius Hystaspes, who had all perished, at once, in the very same expedition. Ctesias relates, that this great Persian monarch 'caused a tomb to be dug for him while he yet lived, in the double mountain; but, when it was completed, the Chaldæan soothsayers forbid him to enter it during his life, under a penalty of some terrible danger. Darius was intimidated; but some princes of his family could not resist a strong curiosity, which impelled them to view its interior. They went to the mountain, and, by their desire, were to be drawn up by the priests who officiated there; but, in the act while they yet hung between earth and air, the sudden apparition of some serpents on the rock, so terrified

niously contrived to take off a fac-simile of the whole monument; but it is one thing to copy, quite another thing to carve on the living rock, figures and inscriptions.

Thoughts like these, at once suggested by the clause first decyphered, naturally crowded upon the mind, before I could proceed further with the task of decypherment. This task I presently resumed, only now taking the inscriptions in their regular order. Pursuing the experimental inquiry in this way, I soon discovered that the main theme of the inscriptions was throughout the same, namely, the oft-repeated

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the people above, that they let go the ropes, and the princes were dashed to pieces;' on this very spot, more than two thousand years ago, the catastrophe happened. Certainly, being in any noted place, has a most amazing power in bringing two far-distant points of time to meet; at least in the mind that contemplates them. I should have read the history of this disaster at home, with almost as little concern as if the people had never existed: here, I was on the spot where it happened, and the scene was realized: the persons seemed present with me, and I shuddered for them, while I rejoiced in my own safety. To incur the least possible danger to myself and my assistants, I had selected the tomb that was nearest the ground; and I came off with not a few bruises, from hard knocks against the rock, in my swinging ascent."—*Porter*, vol. i. pp. 520—522.

The sites of the monuments at Behistun and Nakshi Roustam were plainly selected on a common principle,—*inaccessibility*; and, doubtless, were executed by similar means. The ascent of Sir R. K. Porter indicates the means adopted in the one case; the figure of the sculptor in his crate, discloses the expedient resorted to in the other. Monuments so nearly contemporary, were sure to have similar machinery employed in the process of their execution.

description, usque ad nauseam, of a double execution; that of the monument itself, and that of the unhappy prisoners. I had waded in this way through many a line, of insignificant sense, or wearisome battology, ere I lighted most unexpectedly upon two words, which let in a flood of light upon the artistic part of the main subject; the first, describing the execution of the writing with a minute accuracy, demonstrative of the decypherment, and demonstrated to the eye by the inscriptions themselves; the second, describing the machine by means of which the artist effected his great work, in terms completely explanatory, not only of his process, but also of that greatest of enigmas, the nature of the vehicle in which the figure in the air is enveloped; which, from the radii that surround it, by the poetical imagination of Sir R. K. Porter, has been described, with the glowing licence of conjecture, as "a car of sun-beams," the chariot (according to Rawlinson) of the god Ormuzd.

On coming to the former of the two words, I read it , *rakan**; and, on con-

* I must observe here that, in the arrow-headed Persian, as in the Hebrew and Arabic, there are two forms of the *k*, and , and with powers corresponding with the *kaf* and *koph* of those Semitic alphabets. At Behistun, these powers are constantly ascertainable from the Arabic lexicon. These characters, however, are sometimes inter-

sulting Golius and Freytag, I found the following definitions: رقن, Notavit, scripsit, pinxit. Pulchre scripsit. *Densis lineis scripsit librum.* ترقين, *Lineas prope ad invicem ducere, et insignire punctis.* "Cyphering, writing, painting. Writing calligraphically. Writing a book *with closely ruled lines. Ruling lines close to each other and ornamenting them with points.*"

On reading the definition of *rakan*, "Writing a book with closely ruled lines," I saw at once with surprize that it was a description of the Behistun inscriptions, the whole four hundred lines of which are enclosed, line after line, between "closely-ruled lines." But on coming to the next definition, "Ruling with lines close to each other and ornamenting them with points," not having noticed any points in Colonel Rawlinson's plates, my attention not being as yet drawn to their minutiæ, I returned to the

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changeable, as is well noticed by Col. Rawlinson (who, however, assigns them totally different powers from those indicated by their form) of the Inscriptions at Persepolis.

"I may as well observe in this place, that the Persepolitan 𐎡 is always figured at Behistun as 𐎡, and that I make use accordingly on all occasions of the latter type, unless I am quoting a Persepolitan alphabet."— *Ubi suprà*, p. 10.

The author can mean only the characters, as marked with diacritic points. The characters in question, in both forms, abound throughout the Behistun Inscriptions.

Plates, and there found, to my astonishment, equidistant, or nearly equidistant points, manifestly ornamental, running from beginning to end along every one of the four hundred ruled lines. The correctness of this decypherment thus stood demonstrated four hundred times over, by the matter of fact applicability of the above definitions of *rakan*, to every one of the four hundred lines of the inscriptions.

The latter of the two words in question verified my decypherment by a definition equally demonstrative, and not less striking. Coming, in the progress of the decypherment, to a group of characters which I read نرد, *nard*, I consulted Golius for the word, and met the following definition : نرد, Saccus, *inferne amplus*, *superne* rotundus et *strictior*, qui ex foliis palmæ textus consuitur, *et trajectis fibris palmæ stipatur*, ut erectus consistat, atque in eo colligatur recens dactylorum proventus, ut ad alia loca transportetur.

"A sack, *wide at bottom* and *narrow at top*, made of palm leaves, and strengthened *by* [*their*] *fibres*, which stands erect, into which they put fresh dates to be transported to distant places."

The definition at once opened my eyes, and sent me to Rawlinson's Plates of the central sculpture at Behistun, and to the curiously

FIGURE OF THE SCULPTOR OF THE BEHISTUN MONUMENT,
suspended in his Palm-leaf Crate or Basket before the face of the cliff.

enclosed figure in the air: when the mystery immediately was solved. The "car of sunbeams" became transmuted into a palm-leaf crate or basket; its rays, into the strong, cane-like, fibres of the palm-leaves; and the whole mystic apparatus proved to be neither more nor less than a kind of mason's crate, wide below and narrow above, in which the sculptor of the monument, the "cut-short man," was let down and suspended by ropes before the face of the cliff; there, moved to and fro from above, to execute at leisure, and with perfect ease, the work of engraving the monument; with an iron cap* to protect his head from falling fragments of rock, a small platform (probably, also, of date sticks) attached to his crate, and a large hoop, with a coil of rope on it, round his waist, apparently to preserve him from swinging against the rock. The substance of this description is to be seen in the picture itself; its circumstances have been derived from the contents of the inscriptions.

The description of the palm basket, fortified by the fibres of palm leaves, might have been

* This iron helmet, repeatedly mentioned in the inscriptions, is drawn correctly in Sir R. K. Porter's transcript. In Col. Rawlinson's (or Lieutenant Jones's) it is metamorphosed into a kind of turban. In another instance of discrepancy between the artists, to which we shall presently come, there is inductive proof that Porter's drawing is the more correct one.

indistinctly comprehended, and its identity with the vehicle in the Behistun sculpture imperfectly perceived, had I not fortunately received a present of a specimen of the fibre, in the shape of a walking-cane. Immediately on comparison of this specimen with Sir R. K. Porter's "sunbeams," their identity of form was self-evident. While the natural bend in the stick or fibre of this leaf, together with its great flexibility while green, and as great hardness when dry, render it the only material adapted for the construction of such a basket as is described in the Arabic definition of the word *nard*, or of such a vehicle as is seen in the Behistun sculpture of the figure in the air.

In the decypherment of unknown characters it very rarely happens, that experimental proofs accumulate and combine as they do in this example: where the philological evidence, in itself so graphically descriptive, is so completely countersigned, by the pictorial illustration, on the one hand, and by the nature and necessity of the case on the other. For, while picture and inscription, here, unite to inform us *how* the artist accomplished his aerial task, the character of the locality physically instructs us that he could have accomplished it in no other way. He seems described in the inscriptions, under the image of "a bird hovering in the air,"

and, in point of fact, he was suspended, in his basket, in the air, like a bird.

From the words *rakan*, and *nard*, we pass on to a third term in these Inscriptions, of great, if not equal, experimental value. The group of characters now in question read, by my alphabet, كنع, *kanā;* and the word *kanā* recurred, in the Inscriptions, no fewer than *twenty-eight times*. This frequency of occurrence, at once, authenticated the group as a distinct word, and marked that word as one of no subordinate importance. The group itself possessed and presented this further advantage, that the three characters which composed it were simple, clearly marked out among their fellows, and of known forms: viz., the common K, the Greek *nun*, ν, placed sideways, and the E, reversed.

On the principle of legend and device, its twenty-eight recurrences were, alone, abundantly indicative, antecedently, of the integral connection of the word with the main subject of the picture. How far this presumption was, or was not, well founded, I leave my readers to judge from the following definitions of *kanā*. كنع, Strictè arctèque *in vinculis* detentus fuit *captivus*.

Golius. — Contractus fuit *vinculis captivus*. *Freytag.* — *A captive strictly and stringently confined in bonds. A captive contracted by his bonds.* "Having the arms dislocated." — *Richardson.*

Let the reader look only at the prisoners in the Plate of the Behistun monument. He will there see them, not only (as already pointed out) with their necks yoked together by a single rope, as described by the term *karn*, or *karnin*, but with their arms cruelly bound behind at the wrists, so as painfully to express the double sense of *torture* and *dislocation*, conveyed by the corresponding term, *kanā*.

When we now recall to mind, that the word *karnin* recurs no less than fifty-eight, and its fellow, *kanā*, no less than twenty-eight, times in the inscriptions, while all the recurrences of both terms are continually reflected by the central picture, it is difficult to compute the amount of the substantive evidences presented to the mind by so enlarged a scale of coincidence and combination.

It is not my intention to enter at length into the puerile contents of the Behistun Inscriptions. To do so, would be to try my reader's patience, and to exhaust my own. I shall confine myself to a few select specimens; chosen, not for any great value in the information or ideas, but for the greater prominence of the words. These specimens will be found at the close of the present topic.

I have already intimated that the general sub-

ject of the Behistun Inscriptions is twofold: one object being to celebrate the execution of the work; the other, to celebrate the execution of the prisoners. This intimation I mean presently further to open out. But, before touching briefly, with this view, upon the contents of the inscriptions, I would indicate, in the hope of interesting the reader, a few more marked or leading words. Among these, the term تکری, *tokari*, is of repeated occurrence, and remarkable significancy. Its definition in Golius, followed by Freytag, is, Dux seu Præfectus: *Sindorum lingua.** In Richardson, it is simply "A general, a leader." In the Behistun Inscriptions, it obviously applies to *the captive leaders*, brought in chains before the Persian king. The chief personage among those chiefs is the last, distin-

* It is very remarkable that this definition accurately tallies with the course and conquests of Darius Hystaspes in India; which commenced and terminated with the invasion of Sinde and the Punjab. "To wipe away the disgrace of this unfortunate enterprize [his unsuccessful invasion of Scythia], we find the Persian monarch, shortly after, undertaking an expedition against India. In this he was more successful, and *conquered a part of the Punjab*; not, however, the whole country, as some modern writers erroneously represent."—(*Class. Dict.* art. *Darius.*) To reach the Punjab, a Persian invader was sure to pass from Mekran through Sinde; a route which strikingly illustrates the term *tokari*, a *Sindian* title, applied, so often, in these Inscriptions, to the prisoners; who, taking the term in its restricted sense, would be Sindian chiefs or *Amirs*. On other and stronger grounds, however, they appear to have been, chiefly, Armenians. These grounds will presently be given, as we proceed further to notice singly the contents of the Inscriptions. The term *Tokari*, however, may denote *Tokaristan*, the seat of the *Tochari* of Ptolemy, in Turquestan.

guished from his companions in misfortune by his singular *horn*-shaped cap. The eye and hand of the king, moreover, seem specially directed towards this figure; who is further distinguished from his fellow-captives by a name or title, evidently borrowed from the horn on his head, namely, that of كرك, *kark*, "The Rhinocerus." This word, or title, repeatedly recurs; and, in near connection with it, another word, curiously elucidative of the pointed cap, and indicative of the country of the wearer; this word is ارمني, ARMENIAN. Remembering that Sir R. K. Porter and others, judging by their countenances, had pronounced these prisoners to be JEWS, immediately upon meeting, again and again, in the Inscriptions, the word answering to *Armenian*, I asked a friend who had travelled much in the East, without mentioning my object, what was the character of the Armenian countenance? The answer, "Decidedly *Jewish*," satisfied my inquiry, and settled my conviction. I could no longer doubt that the horn-capped chief, and the more Jewish-featured, at least, of his fellow-captives, were Armenians. As the term ترك, *Turcæ*, answering to *Turks*, or *Turcomans*, also occurred in the Inscriptions, it followed that those among the prisoners who were not Armenians, were Turcomans, or Turks of Turquestan.

SUBJECT OF THE BEHISTUN MONUMENT.

ACCORDING to the theoretical decypherments and translations of Colonel Rawlinson, we have seen, the Behistun Inscriptions record the autobiography of Darius Hystaspes; who is himself represented, in the centre piece, in the act of sacrificing his rebel satraps to his god, Ormuzd, who appears seated above, in a car of sun-beams, in the air. The Persian deity bears in the left hand a circle or ring, being, according to the same authority, a figure of the zodiac; and emblematical, it follows, of supreme rule over the heavenly bodies. The action of the upraised right hand is unnoted.

The experimental decypherment of this monument yields very different, and far more homely results. Ormuzd is the stone-mason. His car of sun-beams, the mason's crate. And the zodiac in his left hand (risum cupientes tenere nequeamus) a *tambourin* or *cymbal*, upon which he is beating with his right hand, in accompaniment to his voice, with which, commemorating the completion of his great work, he is singing vociferously the burden of the song forming the contents of the Inscriptions. It is there stated,

among many other details, *that he worked by moonlight*, and *was elevated by wine.* Upon the latter circumstance (so characteristic of the Persians) an acute critic observed, that the figure carried its own evidence; that the whole countenance and action was palpably that of an inebriated reveller.

The subject of the record, I have observed, is twofold. The song or ballad* (for such it unequivocally is, as appears from its endless repetitions) alternates throughout between celebration of the work, and of the manner of its execution, and details concerning the capture, condemnation, and punishment of the prisoners; whose fate is, to be shot to death with arrows, one after the other, by the body-guardsmen standing behind the king. The first victim (mistaken by Porter as though in the act of craving mercy*) has been already immolated. The king tramples upon his prostrate body, his legs move convulsively in the air, and his hands appear to be employed, not in imploring mercy,

* "The royal figure — tramples on a prostrate foe; not one that is slain, but one who is a captive: this person, not lying stretched out and motionless; *but extending his arms in supplication.* He must have been a king; for on none below that dignity would the haughty foot of an Eastern monarch condescend to tread."— *Porter*, vol. ii. p. 160. In explaining the action of the arms, in the fallen captive, the author has overlooked the corresponding action of the legs. These could not be *kicked up in supplication.* And they show, irrefragably, the whole action of the limbs to be convulsive, including the convulsive effort to extract the arrow.

but in the death-struggle to extract the arrow buried in the lungs, and concealed between the arms. This alone makes the action, either of the king, or of the fallen figure, intelligible. Neither attitude is that of one craving, or denying, mercy. The archer behind, it will be noticed, holds his bow, and parted fore-finger and thumb, as if after a discharge. The figure nearest the fallen man, and the next to suffer, makes a desperate effort to disengage his hands from their bonds, while those behind him look as though appalled at their coming fate.

One alone has an attitude and action differing from all his fellows. It is the last figure, the *Rhinoceros*, or horn-capped Armenian chief. Against this most conspicuous of his prisoners, the wrath of "the Great King" seems specially directed. He seems to fix his eye on him, to reproach, and to snap his fingers at him as in scorn. The Armenian, on the other hand, may be seen to stand fast, and, instead of moving on with his fellow-captives, to strain his neck against the rope until it drags him from the perpendicular, and to the point of strangulation.* All this, as impartial eyes have observed, may clearly be discerned in the sculpture, but all this was learned by the present writer, not from the

* This action, very marked in Col. Rawlinson's Plate, is missed by Porter.

Plate, but from the Inscriptions. These describe the desire of the Armenian to die by his own act, rather than by the mandate of his hated foe; and that, therefore, he stands fast to strangle himself. While, with reference to the figures on the opposite side, one word represents the guardsmen, as the sculpture also does, in the act of echoing their savage master's mockeries; another describes the king, in the very act depicted, as snapping his fingers in scorn at the obnoxious Armenian. This word and definition are too remarkable to be pretermitted. The word is , *nakar:* its definition, Illisit *pollicem medio digito*, et inde divulsit crepitandi ergo. *Snapping the thumb against the middle finger to make a noise.* This very peculiar action, apparently overlooked by Colonel Rawlinson, is accurately delineated in Sir Robert K. Porter's drawing of the centre sculpture of the Behistun monument.*

The prominence of the key-sentence of these

* "The third personage is of a stature much larger than any other in the group; a usual distinction of royalty in oriental description; and, from the air and attitude of the figure, I have no doubt he is meant to designate the king. This personage holds up his hand in a commanding, or admonitory manner, *the two fore-fingers being extended, and the two others doubled down in the palm*; an action, also, *common on the tombs at Persepolis, and on other monuments just cited.*"—*Porter*, vol. ii. pp. 155, 156. Its frequent recurrences mark the correctness of the action as delineated by Porter. In Lieutenant Jones's drawing, all the fingers appear raised alike, and the action noticed in the Inscription is lost.

inscriptions has been already shown, from its recurrence fifty-eight times in the four hundred lines of the great tablets. Its importance, in the eye of the artist, may be further exemplified, from the fact of its forming the heading of three of these tablets, and standing, as the close of the whole subject, at the foot of the last. For, although it is Colonel Rawlinson's opinion that the bottom of the fourth column has been injured, and the close of the inscription effaced, the presence of lines, and the absence, between them, of any fragments of letters, in his fac-simile copy, would seem rather to indicate that the inscriptions terminated with their key-sentence; and that the remainder of the stone was not originally in a state, owing to its inequalities, to receive engraved characters.

This key-sentence, however, is by no means the only instance of battology in these inscriptions. The whole record is cast in the battological mould. This has been shown in the repetitions of *kanā*, *tokari*, *rakan*, &c.; and could be shown much more largely in the constant recurrences of catch-words, and catch-clauses, from the beginning of the record to the end. To look for the history of the Persia of the Achæmenides in such a document, is about as reasonable as to look for the history of the England of the Plantagenets in the ballad of Chevy Chase.

One thing is certain, that, by an alphabet of known forms and powers, and by experimental decypherment, the name of Darius Hystaspes is not discoverable on this monument. The principal figure seems to be described only by his style and title, as "king," or "king of kings." If any proper name occurs in the Behistun inscriptions, it is one earlier and greater than that of Darius, the name of the great CYRUS himself. I lay little stress, however, on the circumstance of groups of characters happening to represent a proper name, because they may equally represent other things. In truth, of all points connected with the decypherment of unknown characters, none requires more caution, or has experienced less, than the assignment of proper names: invaluable, indeed, if justly assigned, but, of all things beside, most misleading if not. I shall confine myself, therefore, to the simple statement, that a word answering to the name of *Cyrus*, stands prominently in one place of these inscriptions: neither written *Kosroes*, as by the modern Persians, nor *Kuros*, as by the ancient Hebrews and Greeks, but without the termination, as it is still preserved in the names of localities in Persia, simply *Kur*. Now this form of the name is sanctioned and certified by historical and local evidences of no ordinary force. For Ælian records the existence of a river bearing the name of

Cyrus, in the age of Artaxerxes Mnemon; and we learn from Sir R. K. Porter that this river, in the immediate vicinity of Pasargadæ, the residence of the great Cyrus, now bears the name of Aub-*Kur**; in other words, "The river of Cyrus."†

* "But Strabo (xv.) affords us a still better clue [to the site of Pasargadæ, the city and palace of Cyrus], by telling us that the river *Kur* or *Cyrus*, is in the vicinity of Pasargadæ, flowing through hollow Persia (Cœle Persis). The last term can only mean the deep vales of Sewan and Hageeabad, which open into that of Merdasht; and the vale of Sewan is only separated from the plain of Mourg-aub, by the range of hills which bound the latter to the southward. Through the plain of Mourg-aub, and amongst these hills, winds the *Kur-aub* towards the valleys of Sewan and Hageeabad; traversing the whole of that hollow country, till it falls into the Araxes or Bundemir, something west of Persepolis. Mourg-aub is distant from Persepolis forty-nine measured English miles. It lies north-eastward of that capital [as the course of Alexander's march in pursuit of Darius, also distinctly fixes the site of Pasargadæ]; and the *Kur* flows at no great distance from the ruins described." — *Porter*, vol. i. pp. 507, 508.

Strabo makes Cyrus take his name from that of the river. Ammianus Marcellinus, more naturally, makes the river takes its name from that of the king. Strabo's account is: Ἔστι δὴ καὶ Κύρος ποταμὸς, διὰ τῆς κοίλης καλουμένης Περσίδος ῥέων πρὸς Πασαργάδας, οὗ μετάλλαξε τὸ ὄνομα ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀντὶ Ἀγραδάτου μετωνομασθεὶς Κύρος. — *Strabo*, l. xv. p. 729, ed. Wessel. That of Ammianus (the version of reason and analogy): Amnes has regiones prætereunt multi, quorum maximi sunt Choaspes, et Gyndes, et Amardus, et Charynda, et *Cambyses*, et *Cyrus* [the double example, from proper names, alone settles the question]; cui magno et spatioso, *Cyrus*, ille superior rex amabilis, abolito vetere, id vocabulum dedit, . . . quod et fortis esset ut ipse ferebatur, et vias sibi, ut ille, impetu ingenti molitus in Caspium dilabitur mare. — L. xxiii. c. 6. p. 375.

† The story of Ælian (so invaluable as historical evidence for the origin of the name of the Aub-Kur) is given, together with its scriptural moral, so happily, in the "Sacred Literature" of Bishop Jebb, that I cannot withhold from my readers the pleasure and profit of the following extract from that original work. The incident is introduced in illus-

tration of our Lord's saying respecting the gift of "a cup of cold water." Having first illustrated this saying from Josephus, and the case of Herod Agrippa and his freedman Thaumastus, the author thus proceeds: "The other is a Persian story, for which we are indebted to the moral taste of Ælian, *Var. Hist.* lib. i. cap. xxxiii. It happened, on a certain day, that Artaxerxes Mnemon was making a journey, attended by his court: as the king passed along, his unexpected appearance greatly distressed a Persian traveller, Sinætes by name. This man, at a distance from home, was wholly unprovided with the means of presenting any one of those gifts, which the law required all subjects to offer to the Persian monarchs, on their royal progress; and with which he saw the surrounding multitude eagerly advancing. Respect for the laws, and, still more, reverence for his sovereign, filled him with anxiety, but he did not long pause or hesitate; he ran, at his utmost speed, to the adjoining river Cyrus; scooped up some water with both hands, approached the king, and thus addressed him: 'King Artaxerxes, reign for ever! That thou mayest not pass by ungifted, I pay my duty with such materials, and in such a manner, as my case admits: I pay my duty, *with water from the Cyrus.* Should your majesty deign to approach my dwelling, I hope to offer the best and richest gifts in my possession.' Artaxerxes, filled with delight, addressed his subject in the following manner: 'I accept your gift with pleasure: I prize it more than the most splendid offerings: first, because water is, in itself, the most excellent of all things; and then, because *this water bears the name of* Cyrus.' The story proceeds, that Artaxerxes commanded his attendants to receive the water in a golden cup; sent to Sinætes a robe of honour, a golden cup, and a thousand Darics, and commissioned the messenger to say, 'The king commands thee, from this cup, to recreate thine own soul, as thou didst recreate his, nor didst suffer him to pass, ungifted and unhonoured; but honouredst him as place and time permitted. And he wills that, drawing it with this cup, thou shouldest drink water out of this river.' Thus has history recorded the name, the act, and the reward of him, who bestowed a simple handful of water. The names of proud satraps, and the catalogues of their costly donations, meantime, have sunk into silence and oblivion. Does not this remind one of another gift, and a memorial unspeakably more blessed?—'Verily, I say unto you, Wheresoever this Gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her.'"— *Sacr. Lit.* pp. 236—238. Ælian's river Cyrus is the Aub-Kur.

SELECTIONS

FROM

THE INSCRIPTIONS AT BEHISTUN.

رق, *rak*, Folium chartæ, *aut* simile quid in quo scribitur. Volumen: liber.
A sheet of paper, *or* any similar receptacle of writing. A volume: a book.

قوي, *kūi*, Diversis circa finem vocalibus, *aut* inequali consonantium numero, fecit *carmen*.
Composing *a poem* with varying final vowels, *or* an unequal number of consonants.

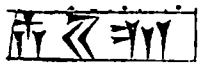
مبنور, بنور, *mebenur*, Exploratus, probatus homo.
A tried and approved man.

رقا, *raki*, Ascendit *per scalam*. Ascendit, erectus fuit.
Ascending *by a ladder*. Ascending, raised aloft.

مبنور, بنور, *mebenur*, Exploratus, probatus homo.
The tried and approved man.

ويية, *wiit*, Saccus amplus et ingens.
A large and capacious sack.

نقر, *nakar*, Excavavit *saxum*.
Hollowing, excavating, *stone*. Stone-cutting.



طمور, *tamur*, Majoris figuræ characteres: capitales litteræ.
Large characters: capital lettors.

نمر, *namar*, Conscendit *montem*.
Scaling *a mountain*.

دمية, *damit*, Res effigiata: *pcc.* ex marmore.
A statue, a figure: *especially* of marble.
(*i. e.* the group of figures at Behistun ?)

نرد, *nard*, "Saccus infernè amplus, supernè rotundus et strictior, qui ex foliis palmæ textus consuitur, et trajectis palmæ fibris stipatur, ut erectus consistat, atque in eo colligatur recens dactylorum proventus, et ad alia loca transportetur." — *Golius.*

نرد, *nard* (*Pers.*), "A sack wide at bottom and narrow at top, made of palm-leaves, and strengthened by (their) fibres, which stands erect, into which they put fresh dates to be transported to distant places." — *Richardson.*

رقن, *rakan*, Notavit, scripsit, pinxit.
Noting down, writing, painting.
Notavit: *pcc.* punctis orthographicis.
Noting: *especially* with orthographic points.
Lineas duxit, scripsitve.
Drawing, or writing, lines.

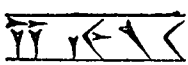
ترقين, *ta-rakin*, Lineas propè ab invicem ducere, et insignire punctis.
Drawing lines close to each other, and ornamenting them with points.

رقن, *rakan*, "Densis lineis scripsit *librum*." — *Freytag.*
Writing *a book* with closely-ruled lines.

عقي, *āki*, In aërem, altumve jecit *sagittam*.
Shooting *an arrow* into the air, or aloft.

تكري *tocari*, Dux seu Præfectus: *Sindorum linguâ*.
A general or Præfect: *in the language of Scinde*.
Τοχάροι, *Thocari* (Ptolemy), *The people at Tokaristan*.

نوق, *nuk*, Vertex montis.
The mountain top.



وكن, *waken*, Considens, insidens. Nidus avis: *proprie* in monte vel muro.
Sitting, sitting in. The nest of a bird: *properly* in a mountain or wall.

وركث, *warak*, Transivit *a latere* montem.
Moving *athwart* the mountain.

اوكا, *awaka*, Suffultus fuit, sese fulsit *aliquâ re*.
Propped up: propping himself up *with any thing*.

نمق, *namak*, Scripsit, exaravit. Eleganter ornavit: *pec.* scripturam.
Writes, engraves. Ornaments elegantly: *especially* a piece of writing.

كوكي, *kūki*, Curtus, pumilio.
A cut-short man, a dwarf.

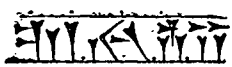
وعن, *wān*, Lineæ in monte.
Lines on a mountain.
(*Q. here*, the ruled lines of the inscription?)

وقع, *wakā*, Percussit, cudit, tuditque, malleo.
Striking, hammering, beating with a mallet,

متن, *matan*, Ictus, isve vehementior.
A stroke: a heavy stroke.

مكن, *makan*, Homo brevis et agilis.
A short active man.

وري, *wari*, Ignem scintillasve emisit ignitabulum.
A tinder-box sending forth fire or sparks.



رقس, *rakash*, Figuris ornavit: pinxit.
Painting figures. Ornamenting with figures.

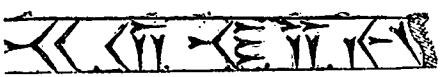
نمق, *namak*, Scripsit, exaravit, *librum* (*tabellam*). Eleganter ornavit: *pec.* scripturam.
Writing, engraving, *a book* (or *tablet*). Ornamenting elegantly: *especially* a writing.

كري, كوري, *kūrī*, *makūrī*, Brevis corpore latusque pumilio.
A short and broad-bodied dwarf.

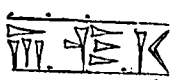
بندق, *bendak*, Aciem defixit *in rem*. Glans missilis quæ balistario arcu jacitur.
Infixing the point into *anything*. A missile (ball) shot from a cross-bow. (A miss le shot from a bow?)

ناي, *nāi*, Nuncius mortis.
A messenger of death.

نو, *nu*, Surrexit *contra alium*.
Rising up *against another*.



بندق, *bendak*, Glans missilis quæ ex balistario arcu jacitur.
(*Q. here, simply*, A missile (or arrow) from a bow?)

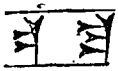


ورك, *warak*, Arcus.
A bow.

اوية, *awit*, Corpus. Persona viri.
A body. A single person.

وقم, *wakem*, Necavit *prædam*.
Killing *the prey*.

وري, *wari*, Affecit læsitve *eum* in pulmone.
Affecting or wounding *any one* in the lungs.



رعاع, *rāaā*, Juvenes pusillanimes vilesque.
Pusillanimous and craven young men.

عيق, *āik*, Vociferatus fuit.
Crying out.

وقواق, *wakwak*, Pavidus, pusillanimis.
Cowardly, pusillanimous.

نقم, *nakam*, Punivit, pœnam cepit. Pœnam et vindictam cepit de eo, punivit *eum Deus*.
Punishing, taking vengeance. Inflicting punishment or vengeance *on any one* (*God*).

كوي, *kūi*, Punxit *scorpio* (i.e. *sagitta* ?).
Stings *the scorpion* (*the arrow* ?).

اتي, *ati*, Punivit. Perdidit.
Punishes. Destroys.

كنع, *kanā*, Strictè arctèque *in vinculis* detentus fuit *captivus*.
A prisoner kept closely and straightly bound *in chains*.

نوم, *nwm*, Interemit.
Slaying.

اريس, *aris*, i. q. امير, Princeps. Imperator.
A prince. The emperor.

واي, *wai*, Numerus seu multitudo hominum.
A number or multitude of men.

وري, *wari*, Affecit læsitve *eum* in pulmone.
Affecting or wounding *any one* in the lungs.

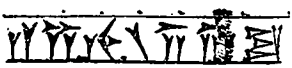
كنع, *kanā*, Strictè arctèque *in vinculis* detentus fuit *captivus*.
A captive kept closely and straightly bound *in chains*.

مرغ, *marg*, Vehementer se contorsit præ dolore.
Writhing himself vehemently from pain.

وقع, *wakā*, Cecidit: concidit humi: *vel* loco suo.
Fallen down: fallen to the ground: fallen where he stood.

اواه, *awah*, Multum suspirans et frequenter Ah! dicens vir. Magnum commonstrans mœrorem.
Moaning deeply and frequently exclaiming Ah! Manifesting great woe.

وقر, *wakar*, Fidit, fissurâ ruplt.
Splitting or breaking.



وقع, *wakā*, Percussit, cudit, tuditque malleo.
Striking, hammering, beating with a mallet.

قرن, *karn*, Plura simul junxit: *ita* complures *captivos* colligavit *uno func*.
Joining many together: *so*, linking together many *captives by one rope*.

(n. s. pl. قرنين, *karnin*.)

نمق, *namak*, "Scripsit, exaravit. Eleganter ornavit, *pecul.* scripturam,"—*Golius*.
"Scripsit, exaravit (magnis et artificiosis implicitis characteribus)."—*Freytag*.
Writing, engraving. Ornamenting elegantly, *especially* a writing.
Writing, engraving (in large and artificially interlaced characters).

كوكي, *kwki*, (كواكية), Curtus, pumilio.
A cut-short man, a dwarf.

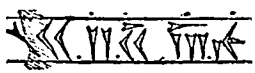
رقن, *rakan*, (ترقين), "Lineas prope ab invicem ducere et insignire punctis."—*Golius*.
Densis lineis scripsit *librum*.
Ruling lines close to each other, and ornamenting them with points.
Writing with closely-ruled lines (*a book* or *tablet*).

عبث, *ānt*, Crimen commisit.
Committing a crime. Criminal.

وقر, *wakar*, Fidit, fissurâ rupit.
Splitting or breaking.

وقع, *waka*, Percussit, cudit, tuditque malleo.
Striking, hammering, pounding with a mallet.

قرن, *karn*, (قرنين), Plura simul junxit: *ita* complures *captivos* colligavit *uno func*.
Joining many together: *so*, linking together many *captives by one rope*.



نمق, *namak*, "Scripsit, exaravit. Eleganter ornavit, *pecul.* scripturam." — *Golius.*
"Scripsit, exaravit (magnis et artificiosis implicitis characteribus)."—*Freytag.*
Writing, engraving. Ornamenting elegantly, *especially* a piece of writing.
Writing, engraving (in large and artificially interlaced characters).

كوكي, *kūki*, (كواكية), Curtus, pumilio.
A cut-short man, a dwarf.

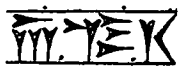
رقن, *rakan* (ترقين), "Lineas prope ab invicem ducere et insignire punctis."—*Golius.*
Ruling lines close to each other, and ornamenting (them) with points.
"Densis lineis scripsit *librum* (*tabellam*)."—*Freytag.*
Writing with closely-ruled lines *a book* (or *tablet*).

عنت, *ānt*, Crimen commisit.
Committing a crime. Criminal.

وراق, *warak*, Qui scribit, scribarius
A writer, a scribe.

رمي, *rami*, Sagittis petivit scopum.
Shooting at the mark with arrows.

بندق, *bendak*, Glans missilis quæ ex balistario arcu jacitur.
(*Q. here*, a missile (or arrow) from a bow.



ورك, *warak*, Arcus.
A bow.

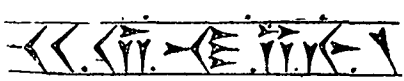
اوية, *awit*, Corpus. Persona viri.
A body. An individual.

وقم, *wakam*, Necavit *prædam*.
Slaughtering *the prey*.

وري, *wari*, Affecit læsitve *eum* in pulmone.
Affecting or wounding *any one* in the lungs.

نمف, *namak*, Scripsit, exaravit. Eleganter ornavit: *pec.* scripturam.
Writing, engraving. Ornamenting elegantly: *especially* a piece of writing.

[كو]كي, *kūki*, Curtus, pumilio.
A cut-short man.



بندق, *bendak*, Glans missilis quæ balistario arcu jacitur.
(A missile (or arrow) shot from a bow?)

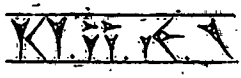
ورك, *warak*, Arcus.
A bow.

اوية, *awit*, Corpus. Persona viri.
A body. An individual man.

وقم, *wakam*, Necavit *prædam*.
Killing *the prey*.

وري, *wari*, Affecit læsitve *cum* in pulmone.
Affecting or wounding *any one* in the lungs.

نمق, *namak*, Scripsit, exaravit. Eleganter ornavit: *pec.* scripturam.
Writing, engraving. Ornamenting elegantly: *especially*, a piece of writing.



كوكي, *kūki*, Curtus, pumilio.
A cut-short man, a dwarf.

RUINS OF MOURG-AUB, OR PASARGADÆ,

IN THE

VICINITY OF THE KUR-AUB.

From the publications of the late James Morier, Esq., and of Sir Robert Kerr Porter, England and Europe have been long familiar with the architectural remains, monuments of the art and magnificence of ancient Persia, seated in the valley of Mourg-Aub, and nearly fifty English miles N.E. of Persepolis. These ruins were first discovered and described by Mr. Morier; and, subsequently, examined in detail by Sir R. K. Porter. The chief remains, as described by the latter visitor, consist of an immense platform of white marble, about three hundred feet every way, raised nearly to a level with the summit of a rocky hill, to whose side it adheres; of a square tower-like building, of the same lasting materials, at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the platform; of a cluster of ruined columns and platforms, more than a quarter of a mile further to the south-east; and the columnar vestiges of an immense single elevation, half a mile beyond,

still in a south-eastern direction. The first grand platform, Sir R. K. Porter conceives, may have been the sub-structure of a royal altar: the second elevation, now marked only by the bases of its columns, composed of the finest white marble, may fairly be conjectured to have been the ground-plan of a temple, or a palace. "By the general plan, there appear to have been two entrances; one from the north-east, the other in the opposite quarter. They are both twelve feet wide, showing something like a step, advancing beyond the outer line of the floor. At about six feet distant from the north-east side of the building, and standing out in a parallel point to its centre, rises the square pillar [the first object seen in the distance] which had drawn me hither. *It appears perfectly distinct from all others*, no trace of a second being found. One single block of marble forms it; and, as far as I could judge, it is full fifteen feet high. On examining it, I was delightedly surprized at discovering a sculpture in bas-relief, occupying nearly the whole length of the north-west side of the pillar, surmounted by a compartment containing a repetition of the usual inscription. I lost no time in measuring and drawing this invaluable piece of antiquity.

"It consists of the profile figure of a man, clothed

in a garment something like a woman's shift, fitting rather close to the body, and reaching from the neck to the ankles. His right arm is put forward, half raised from the elbow; and, as far as I could judge from the mutilated state of its extremity, the hand is open and elevated. His head is covered with a cap, close to the skull, sitting low behind, almost to the neck, and showing a small portion of hair beneath it. A circle (of what I could not make out) is just over the ear; and three lines, marked down the back of the head, seem to indicate braidings. His beard is short, bushy, and curled with the neatest regularity: the face is so much broken, only the contour can be traced. From the bend of the arm to the bottom of the garment, runs a border of roses, carved in the most beautiful style, from which flows a waving fringe, extending round the skirt of the dress; the whole being executed with the most delicate precision. From his shoulders, issue four large wings, two, spreading on each side, reach high above his head; the others open downwards, and nearly touch his feet. The chiselling of the feathers is exquisite; but the most singular part of the sculpture is the projection of two large horns from the crown of his head; they support a row of three balls or circles, within which we see smaller ones

Plate V

SCULPTURED PILLAR AT KOURO-KÛB

THE ANCIENT PASARGADAE

described. Three vessels, not unlike our European decanters, and regularly fluted, rest upon these balls, being crested, again, by three smaller circles. On each side of the whole, like supporters to a coat of arms, stand two small creatures, resembling mummies of the ibis, but having a bent termination to their swathed forms. Over all is the inscription. The figure, from head to foot, measures seven feet; the width of the stone, where he stands, is five feet; two feet from that line reaches the present level of the ground. The proportions of the figure are not in the least defective; nor can any fault be found with its taste, being perfectly free from the dry, wooden appearance we generally find in Egyptian works of the kind; and, in fact, it reminded me so entirely of the graceful simplicity of design which characterizes the best Grecian friezes, that I considered it a duty to the history of the art, to copy the forms before me, exactly as I saw; without allowing my pencil to add, or diminish, or to alter a line."

CIRCUMSTANTIAL IDENTIFICATION OF THE WINGED HUMAN FIGURE, DISCOVERED BY SIR R. K. PORTER UPON THE PILLAR FACING THE PALACE AT MOURG-AUB, AS A SYMBOLIC AND CONTEMPORARY PORTRAIT OF THE GREAT CYRUS.

THE identity of the ruins of Mourg-Aub with the ancient Pasargadæ, first suggested by the late Mr. James Morier, seems now very generally admitted. The identification is materially strengthened by the fact, that the name of Cyrus is still preserved in this locality in that of the river KUR, which flows near the ruins. The denomination "Mourg-Aub," *Bird-river*, or *the river of the Bird*, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Kur, and apparently another name for that river, may prove, on examination, a fresh bond of connection with Cyrus, not only in his character, as described by profane history, of founder of the Persian empire, but in his character, as delineated in sacred history, of the fore-appointed and predicted minister of the only true God. To this new point of evidence I would now invite the attention of the reader. The name "Mourg-âub," or *Bird-river*, in itself an insignificant and unmeaning appellative, assumes a very different character and sense, if we connect it with the

colossal *winged* human figure, forming so prominent an architectural feature in the immediate vicinity of the "Kur-aub," or *River Cyrus*. From Porter's description of this figure, and of the stately column on which it is sculptured, standing alone in front of the remains of Pasargadæ, it is plain that this erection must have constituted a principal object in the original plan. The frequency of winged figures of men or monsters upon the monuments of Egypt and Assyria, might naturally enough suggest, at first sight, the idea that this figure, also, was only the mystic emblem of some local deity or genius. In the locality in which it stands, however, and in its connection with the name and city of Cyrus, the figure here in question gives birth to a very different idea. For what is the prophetic emblem under which Cyrus himself is delineated in the Prophecy of Isaiah, nearly two hundred years before his advent? it is that of *a bird of prey*. The image, moreover, is introduced with a solemnity which affixes it to Cyrus, as with the impress of God's own seal,—"I am God, and there is none else: I am God, and there is none like me: Declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done; saying, my counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure: Calling A RAVENOUS BIRD FROM THE

EAST, *the man that executeth my counsel from a far country.*" Now Cyrus, being this ravenous bird, or man of Jehovah's own choice, what more natural in itself, or more strikingly corroborative of the prediction, than that he should cause himself to be represented under a corresponding image? in other words, that he should be represented by the winged figure at Mourg-aub? The antecedent probability is greatly increased, and the relation of the figure to Cyrus brought still more home, when we come to examine and consider the ornaments with which the figure is surmounted. The head-dress, the reader will perceive, is composed of a ram's head, crested by basilisks and balls, the well-known regalia or ensigns of Egyptian royalty. But the golden ram's head, surmounted by jewelled ornaments, was equally one of the chief royal head-dresses of the Persian monarchs of the dynasty of the Achæmenides.* When, therefore, in the sym-

* The usage strikingly exemplifies the harmony between prophecy and profane history, *the ram* being a prophetic emblem of the then future Persian empire: "And I saw in a vision a ram, which had two horns," is Daniel's description of the united empire of the Medes and Persians. Upon which a learned commentator observes, "But a question remains, why that empire, which was before (Dan. vii. 5) likened to a *bear* for its cruelty, should now be represented by a *ram*? The propriety of it will appear, if we consider, that it was usual *for the king of Persia to wear a ram's head made of gold*, and set with precious stones, instead of a diadem. We may add, that *a ram's head with horns*, one higher and the other lower, was the royal ensign of the Persians, and is still to be

bolic figure at Mourg-aub, we find the wings of the "ravenous bird" of Isaiah, conjoined with the known head-dress of the first kings of Persia, what conclusion more just, than that, in this winged human figure, we have the symbolic representation, or rather, from the life and nature expressed in the countenance, the *vera effigies* of Cyrus the Great?

The inscription upon the pillar, above the head of the winged figure, if explanatory of the subject underneath it, must necessarily be regarded with the profoundest interest. But it is a common-place; and, consequently, without any self-evident connection with the figure. It is, however, the common-place in which Professor Grotefend purports to have discovered the name of Cyrus: the alleged discovery upon which his arrow-headed alphabet, and that of his whole school, is based. When read, however, on the principle, already so largely verified in these pages,

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seen on the pillars of Persepolis."—See Newton, vol. ii. p. 5. Bishop Chandler's Vindication, p. 154., and Dr. Sharpe's Sermon on the Rise and Fall of Jerusalem, p. 46, note."— *Coke on Dan.* viii. 2, 3, *ap. Commentary on Holy Bible.*

As Cyrus, the founder of the Persian Empire, was *certain* to be distinguished by its prophetic symbols, we have in these facts and authorities the strongest matter-of-fact presumption in favour of the winged figure at Mourg-aub, crowned with the ram's head and horns, and facing the gateway of his own palace at Pasargadæ, being, as suggested in the text, at once a personification, and a portrait, of Cyrus.

namely, that letters of the same known forms possess the same known powers,—instead of the name of Cyrus, we meet once more the *kukî*, or cut-short stone-mason, designing ornamentally the *royal eagle*, with outstretched wings, and expanded hands, in the act of swooping upon his prey; being the subject represented pictorially upon the face of the pillar under this Inscription.

A curious circumstance mentioned by Porter, namely, that, in this column, "like all the other pillars he had seen in this valley, a deep and long concavity runs nearly the whole length of the shaft, on the side contrary to that where the figure stands," suggests the probability that this concavity may have been intended for the play of the rope with a weight attached, by means of which the sculptor's crate was suspended, and moved up or down, so as to enable him to accomplish his task with steadiness and facility.

CONTEMPORARY DATE, AND COMMON AUTHORSHIP, OF THE SCULPTURES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF BEHISTUN AND OF PERSEPOLIS.

From the sameness of alphabetic forms, and great similarity of execution, observable in the writ-

ing at Behistun and Persepolis, it has been conceived, and with much apparent justness, that these noble monuments were, most probably, not only contemporary in date, but works of one and the same artist. The probability is materially strengthened by the further circumstance, that (however the groups in question be read or rendered) several key-words are common to both series of inscriptions: such as *rakan*, a book or record written with closely ruled lines, *or* with closely ruled lines ornamented with points; *namak*, writing ornamentally, *or* calligraphically; *kukî*, a dwarf, *or* cut-short man; *wakā*, hammering, pounding, striking, with a mallet, &c. Words, the reader will perceive, which, as here rendered, all relate alike to the manual execution of the engraving; the fidelity of the rendering being certified by the actual phenomena. But, if the monuments of Behistun and Persepolis were executed by the same hand, it follows that they were executed in the same age. I have stated the probabilities that this age was the reign of Cyrus, extending, in all likelihood, into those of his immediate successors. From the importance attached by the artist himself to his performances, manifested in the extent to which he has chronicled their praises, it is highly probable that scarcely less importance was

attached to them by his employers, the first Persian monarchs; otherwise he might hardly have ventured to celebrate them at so great length. But he would seem to have been the Cimabué of his age; one to whose genius the kings of the earth paid willing tribute.* Hence, most probably, the self-laudatory doggrel chorus, in which he celebrates his *chef d'œuvre* of art, the central sculpture, throughout the four hundred lines of the Behistun Inscriptions. Standing alone in art†, he stood above the pride even of eastern

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* "Charles d'Anjou, frère de S. Louis, après avoir été couronné roi de Sicile et de Jérusalem, par le pape Clement IV., allant en Toscane où il favorisait le parti des Guelfes contre les Gibelins, passa à Florence, et voulut voir Cimabué. Le roi, accompagné de sa cour, se rendit à l'atelier du peintre, et lui prodigua les éloges les plus flatteurs à la vue de ses beaux ouvrages."—*Biographie Universelle*, art. *Cimabué*.

† The supremacy in art of the Behistun sculptor is demonstrated, not by his self-laudation, but by the work itself. "Even at so vast a height (observes Porter), the first glance showed it to have been a work of some age accomplished in the art; for all here was executed with the care and fine expression of the very best at Persepolis." And again: "The execution, in this specimen of ancient art, is not inferior in any respect to the best at Persepolis; and the varied expression in the different faces may be regarded as almost equal *to any thing of the kind done by the chisel. The same progress in anatomical knowledge, manifested at Chehel Minar, is shown here*, in the exposed limbs of two of the figures; and, indeed, we see it even in the outline of the dressed figures, and the easy and true motion with which they appear to advance. No doubt can be entertained, that the great antiquity of this piece extends to, at least, the era of those at Persepolis."—Vol. ii. pp. 154 and 158. These artistic criticisms all point to the idea noticed in the text, that the monuments of Persepolis and Behistun were by one and the same hand.

despotism; and praised himself as the pictorial chronicler of the actions and achievements of "the great king."

Having entered to such an extent into an experimental analysis of the contents of the Behistun Inscriptions, it is not my intention to repeat the experiments upon the closely cognate inscriptions of Persepolis. Enough to observe that they appear to be equally trivial and unimportant; being mainly explanatory of the execution of the sculptures. Like those of Behistun, they are written with closely ruled lines; and (only in a different manner) ornamented with points. One example alone of decypherment claims insertion here, from the extraordinary coincidence which it brings to light between the ancient, and the modern, Persian appellation of the Palace of Persepolis. *Chehel minar*, "The Palace of forty pillars," is its actual denomination. And *wakari minar*, "The metropolis of pillars," is its name in its own arrow-headed inscriptions, as read by my experimental alphabet. Two curvilinear rows of ornamental points stand between the words; apparently indicating a double corresponding colonnade. The probability is high from their juxta-position with the word *minar*, "columns."

PERSEPOLIS.

"PALACE OF FORTY PILLARS." — *Porter.*

(Conf. Vol. I. pp. 599—617.)

f o r t y c ō l u m n s

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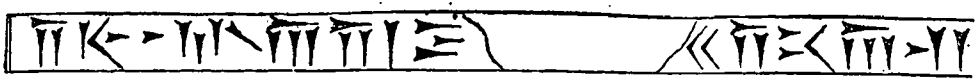

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ī r a k a w r a n i m

The Metropolis (of) Columns

A

NEW KEY FOR THE RECOVERY

OF THE

LOST TEN TRIBES.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

A GHILJEE AFGHANI
or MAN OF THE "BENI ISRAEEL"

A

NEW KEY

FOR

THE RECOVERY OF THE LOST TEN TRIBES.

The most interesting problem in the history of the world as yet unsolved, unquestionably is, the national existence, and local habitation, of the lost ten tribes of Israel. The fact of their existence, indeed, stands certified by "the sure word of prophecy;" but the place, or places, of their banishment have lain so long buried in the womb of time, that all efforts, heretofore, have seemed labour in vain to draw them from their living tomb. Still the efforts of learned ingenuity, in a matter of so high interest to revealed religion, have not ceased. They have been renewed, rather, with increased energy, in our own day; until the spirit of inquiry after the lost Israelites

has run nearly the circuit of the known world. The Chinese, in the far east, and the American Indians, in the uttermost west, have been alternately identified, and with equal improbability, with the ten tribes. While the attention of a wise curiosity, recalled from these most improbable extremes, has more recently been drawn, on the one hand, to the Nestorians of Kurdistan, or again directed, on the other, to the Afgháns, west of the Indus, the warrior hill tribes of Cabulistan. The argument advanced by Dr. Grant, of the American Mission, in favour of the claims of the Nestorians of Kurdistan to represent the lost tribes, is framed with much acuteness and ingenuity: but the nature and position of the country*; the very limited amount of the population†; and the absence of the rite of circumcision, unite, as his countryman, Dr. Robinson, has shown on other grounds, conclusively to negative its seeming probabilities. The rival claim of the Afgháns is long prior in date, and (as I think my readers will be likely to agree with me) of a far different character in intrinsic weight and conclusiveness. First brought into

* For a complete disproof of Dr. Grant's theory, from this single consideration, see Sir George Rose's argument, in his Publication referred to below, pp. 48. 51.

† Rose, ubi infra, p. 51.

notice by Sir William Jones*, and subsequently controverted by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, it remained for further and more exact inquiry to demonstrate that, by both these high authorities, the claim of the warlike tribes of Afghánistan to be the representatives of the ten tribes has been, alike, received or rejected, on wholly inadequate grounds. The honour of this inquiry and demonstration belongs to one who still lives, and it is hoped may be long spared to enjoy it, the Right Honourable Sir George Rose.

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* "This subject is briefly discussed by Sir William Jones, in a Note on a Translation by Mr. Vansittart. (Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. art. iv.) That elegant scholar is inclined to believe the supposed descent, which he strengthens by four reasons."—*Elphinstone, Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, p. 156, note.

The author proceeds to controvert Sir William Jones's "four reasons." But, as the opinion of so high an authority is entitled to great consideration, I subjoin the Note in question, without entering into the controverted points.

NOTE BY THE PRESIDENT.

"This account of the Afgháns may lead to a very interesting discovery. We learn from Esdras, that the Ten Tribes, after a wandering journey, came to a country called *Arsareth*; where, we may suppose, they settled. Now, the Afgháns are said, *by the best Persian historians*, to be descended from the Jews; they have traditions among themselves of such a descent; and it is even asserted [a fact now ascertained], that their families are distinguished by the names of *Jewish* tribes, although, since their conversion to the *Islám*, they studiously conceal their origin [this statement is erroneous]. The *Pushto* language, of which I have seen a dictionary, *has a manifest resemblance to the Chaldaic*, and a considerable district under their dominion is called *Hazáreh*, or *Hazáret*, which might easily have been changed into the word used by Esdras. I strongly recommend an inquiry into the literature and history of the *Afgháns*."

In the modest form of a pamphlet, entitled "The Afghans, the Ten Tribes, or the Kings of the East," this distinguished writer has placed the question upon grounds which would have given pleasure to Sir William Jones, and from which, I am willing to believe, Mr. Elphinstone himself will hardly be prepared to dissent. In expressing my own opinion, I state only the sentiments of the most influential literary authority of our day. "The country (observes an able writer in the Quarterly Review, in the Article upon Kaye's 'History of the War in Afghanistan') the country which is the scene of the events described, is one of great and particular interest. In geographical position, Afghanistan bears a resemblance to Switzerland. Looking back to the history of the two countries, we may, perhaps, find, that, notwithstanding the advantage enjoyed by Helvetia in having Cæsar for its first chronicler, Afghanistan has more in it to excite and reward the diligence of the antiquary. We confess that we should, but recently, have feared to incur ridicule, by even alluding to the opinion of those who find, in the Afghans, the descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel; but we must say, that we think no man need feel sensitive on that head, since the appearance of the late statement of the arguments *pro et contra*

by the Right Hon. Sir George Rose. We cannot go into his details at present; but, to glance merely at a few leading points, the fact of their own universal tradition, their calling themselves, collectively, 'Bin Israel,' Children of Israel (though they repudiate with indignation the name of 'Yahoudi,' or Jew), the, to us, new fact, that one particular warlike tribe style themselves Yousufzie, or the tribe of Joseph,—and several others—taken together with the strongly Jewish cast of the modern Afghan physiognomy, seem to rebuke the levity hitherto prevalent, in essays alluding to this conjecture about their origin. We are very sensible that an apology may seem due to Sir George Rose, for such a merely passing reference to his work. But his own pages contain many allusions to points of the highest importance, which he admits not to have been yet properly worked out; more especially as to the degrees of Hebraic element in the Afghan language*, and his Appendix affords much hope of speedy additional information."

* Upon this point, we have (as already noticed) the judgment of Sir William Jones: "The Pushto language, of which I have seen a dictionary, *has a manifest resemblance to the Chaldaic.*" He will be a bold orientalist, who will dispute the competence of Sir William Jones to form and give such an opinion. Dr. Wolff, however, undertakes virtually to controvert it. "The Doctor (says Sir George Rose) proceeds to give 'specimens of Afghan words, taken partly from

The argument of Sir George Rose ought to be in the hands of all, who take a Christian interest in the present subject; and as it would be great injustice to the subject to abridge it, I shall confine myself to saying, that the concurrence of so many prophecies concerning the fortunes and final return of the ten tribes, with the geographical position, national characteristics, physical features, and universal tradition as to an Israelitish origin, of the Afgháns, corroborated by

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Afghans themselves, and partly from Elphinstone's Cabool.' In a footnote he says, 'אור, *light*, is *the only Hebrew word* I found in the Afghan tongue.'"— *Woolff ap. Rose*, p. 39. I have no Afghans to confer with on the matter, but I possess Elphinstone's Caubul; and will undertake, in the second word of his "Pushtoo Vocabulary," to find a second Hebrew word: viz. שמים, *Samim*, with the article prefixed השמים, *hesamim*, "The heavens," of which the Pushtoo, "*Asman, Heaven*," is clearly only a dialectic variation I notice this merely as a specimen of Dr. Wolff's carelessness and hastiness of examination.

A third Hebrew term in the Pushtoo language, not in Mr. Elphinstone's catalogue, *viz.* נהר, *nahar*, a river, has been elsewhere noticed in the Pushtoo term *Ning-nehar*, the nine rivers.

It is very true that the Hebraic elements in Mr. Elphinstone's Pushtoo Vocabulary are rare; but he (Dr. Wolff) should have recollected, that the idiom of the Hebrews of the Captivity was *Chaldee*, not Hebrew. Now, Sir William Jones has taken the true standard; and, upon due examination of the dictionary of the Pushtoo language, has pronounced that "it has *a manifest resemblance to the Chaldaic*." This is exactly what ought to be, in the language of "the children of the Captivity." If, as we learn from the book of Nehemiah, viii. 1—8., the Jews of the later Captivity, at the end of seventy years, had so lost their Hebrew, that the Book of the Law, to be intelligible, had to be explained to them in Chaldaic, what must have been the case of the Israelites, who, even in Nebuchadnezzar's time, had been captives among the Chaldeans for above 140 years?

the Israelitish names of families and tribes, and let it not be forgotten, of localities also,—present a case of evidence in support of their claim, altogether unparalleled in any other example.

Physical features, and national nomenclature whether of tribes or localities, have ever been accounted among the surest indexes of the origin of nations. Let the claim of the Afgháns be tried only by these tests.—Upon the point of national physiognomy, we will take first the testimony of a witness who (hastily enough, as Sir George has shown) has called in question the Israelitish descent of the Afgháns: "From Cabool (says Dr. Wolff) I passed to Peshawur. . . . I thought the general physiognomy not Jewish, but *I was wonderfully struck with the resemblance of the Youssouf Szye, and the Khyberree*, two of their tribes, *to the Jews*." To this admission, in the face of his own counter-impressions, of a Jew born, "it is satisfactory (observes Sir George Rose) to be able to subjoin a testimony of the highest authority, that of the late lamented Mr. Moorcroft, to the correctness of Dr. Wolff's statement, at least as to the likeness of the Khyberees to the Jews. He says (in the year 1824), 'they are tall for mountaineers, *and of a singularly Jewish cast of features*.'"

Upon the point of national nomenclature, the

testimony of the late Sir Alexander Burnes, however familiar to some readers, is too important to be curtailed. "The Afghans call themselves 'Beni Israeel,' or Children of Israel; but consider the term of Yahoodie, or Jew, to be one of reproach. They say that Nebuchadnezzar, after the overthrow of the temple of Jerusalem, transplanted them to the town of Ghore, near Bameean, and that they are called Afghans from their chief Afghana, who was a son of the uncle of Asof (the vizier of Solomon), who was the son of Berkia. The genealogy of this person is traced from a collateral branch on account of the obscurity of his own parents, which is by no means uncommon in the East. They say that they lived as Jews, till Kaleed (called by the title of Caliph) summoned them, in the first century of Mahomedanism, to assist in the wars of the infidels. For their services on that occasion, Kyse, their leader, got the title of Abdoulrasheed, which means the Son of the Mighty [Servant of the Just ?]. He was also told to consider himself as the 'butan' (an Arabic word), or mast of his tribe, on which its prosperity would hinge, and by which the vessel of the state was to be governed. Since that time the Afghans are sometimes called 'Putan,' by which name they are familiarly known in India.

I never before heard this explanation of the term. After the campaign with Khaleed, the Afghans returned to their native country, and were governed by a king of the line of Kyarree, or Cyrus, till the eleventh century, when they were subdued by Mahmoud of Ghuzni. A race of kings, sprung from Ghore, subverted the house of Ghuzni, and conquered India. As is well known, this dynasty was divided, at the death of its founder, into the divisions east and west of the Indus; a state of things which lasted till the posterity of Timourlane reduced both to a new yoke.

"Having precisely stated the traditions and history of the Afghans, *I can see no reason for discrediting them*, though there be some anachronisms, and the dates do not exactly correspond with those of the Old Testament. In the histories of Greece and Rome we find similar corruptions, as well as in the later works of the Arab and Mahomedan writers. *The Afghans look like Jews; they say they are descended from the Jews;* and the younger brother marries the widow of the elder, according to the law of Moses. The Afghans entertain strong prejudices against the Jewish nation; which would at least show, *that they had no desire to claim, without a just cause, a descent from them.* Since some

of the tribes of Israel came to the East, why should we not admit that the Afghans are their descendants converted to Mahomedanism? I am aware that I am differing from a high authority, but I trust that I have made it appear on reasonable grounds."

A new and most interesting testimony, addressed to Sir George Rose himself, comes in strikingly to complete the proof of Israelitish origin, arising from national physiognomy, and national nomenclature. "It is from an officer on the staff of the commander-in-chief in India, one particularly well qualified to afford it. It is dated from '*Head Quarters, Camp, Munikiala, 20th January*, 1852. Having been just through a part of Afghanistan Proper, although now a part of our dominions, I cannot help writing to tell you *how I was struck with the Jewishness of the people*, the moment we crossed the Indus; and not only their appearance, but every possible circumstance tends to convince me, that they are the descendants of the Ten Tribes.

"'They call themselves "Bunnie Israel" (Bunnie being exactly synonymous with "Mac" in Scotland, and "Fitz" in England), *and are proud of it;* whereas, to *all* other Mahometans, a more severe term of abuse cannot be applied than Yahoodie, or Jew.

"'One of the tribes that at present are giving us a good deal of trouble, is called the "Eusyphzie," or tribe of Joseph; "zie" meaning "tribe," and next to them are the "Isakzie," or tribe of Isaac; Ishmael is a very common name among them.'"

Before taking up the thread of proof, already thus far woven to our hands, in order to carry on the clue, it will be right to state and consider such objections as have been raised. The only definite, or rather indefinite, objections which have appeared against the claim of the Afgháns to an Israelitish origin, are those advanced by the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, in his "Account of the Kingdom of Caubul." Mr. Elphinstone's objections resolve themselves into two points: namely, first, that the descent claimed by the Afghans "rests solely upon a vague [national] tradition; and, secondly, that this [national] tradition is clouded with many inconsistencies and contradictions." To objections of this nature, it is obvious to reply: 1. That national tradition has been, in all ages, the national history of all Eastern nations; and 2. That it is the character of all tradition, even of the most unquestionable, to confound the circumstances, while it preserves the substance, of historic truth. These two laws of Eastern tra-

dition are alike indisputable; and brought into antagonism with them, both Mr. Elphinstone's positions fall at once to the ground.

Having thus briefly stated and removed his objections, I am now prepared to show that the witness undesignedly borne by this eminent statesman, in support of the alleged origin of the Afghán tribes, is quite as decisive in favour of that origin, as that adduced by Sir Alexander Burnes, or even (so far as it goes) as that brought forward by Sir George Rose. To place this concurrence more clearly before the reader, I shall first state, simply, the points of agreement; and then adduce the passages from Elphinstone's "Caubul," which establish the proof of agreement between the respective authorities. 1. They are agreed that there is a certain amount of fair probabilities, in the account given of themselves, upon the subject of their origin, by the Afgháns. 2. They are agreed (a most important corroboration of that account) as to the decidedly Jewish physiognomy of that singular and secluded people. 3. They are agreed as to the fact of the national nomenclature coinciding with the national features, in corroboration of the alleged national origin; only, here, Mr. Elphinstone unconsciously supplies materials for a far larger induction, in point to the argument, than

has been furnished, or thought of, by either of its advocates. I proceed to establish these three points of agreement in order, from Elphinstone's "Caubul." Premising only, that the reader will do well to keep in mind, as he proceeds, the axiom laid down by Bochart, "that, unless cause be shown to the contrary, every nation is to be believed in the account which it gives of its own origin."

1. "The account they (the Afghauns) give of their own origin, *is worthy of attention*, and has already attracted the notice of an eminent orientalist.* They maintain that they are descended from Afghaun, the son of Irmia, or Berkia, son of Saul, king of Israel; *and all their histories of their nation* begin with relating *the transactions of the Jews from Abraham down to the Captivity.* Their narrative of those transactions appears to agree with that of the other Mahomedans; and, though interspersed with some wild fables, does not essentially differ from Scripture. *After the Captivity*, they allege that part of the children of Afghaun *withdrew to the mountains of Ghore*†, and part *to the neighbourhood of Mecca, in Arabia.*

* Sir William Jones.

† As there are districts called *Ghore*, in different parts of Afghanistan, is it not possible that the whole country may be here understood by

"*So far this account is by no means destitute of probability.* It is known that ten of the twelve tribes remained in the East, after the return of their brethren to Judea; and the supposition, that the Afghauns are their descendants, *explains easily and naturally, both the disappearance of the one people, and the origin of the other. The rest of the story is confirmed by the fact, that the Jews were very numerous in Arabia at the time of Mahomet;* and that the principal division of them bore the appellation of *Khyber*, which is still the name of a district in Afghaunistan, if not of an Afghaun tribe. The theory is plausible, *and may be true.*"

2.-The Jewish physiognomy is first noticed by Mr. Elphinstone, on the mission reaching Bikanur, in Rajpoutana, on its route to the Indus. "The upper classes (he observes) are Rahore Raujpoots. They are stout and handsome, with hooked noses, *and Jewish features.*" The Putans or Raujpoots of Rauj-pootana, it is well known, are of Afghaun race: "Their military qualities (remarks Sir George Rose) have long

"the mountains of Ghore," and included in the original settlement of the Afghans? "All accounts agree that they inhabited the mountains of Ghore *at a very remote period*, and they seem early to have possessed the mountains of *Solimaun*; which term, in its most extended sense, comprehends all the southern mountains of Afghanistan."– *Elphinstone*, p. 152.

been recognized as pre-eminent in Indian warfare, and have obtained for them, under the name of *Putans*, the highest reputation in the armies of Hindostan." Of the Rajah of Bikanur our author further observes, "Raja Soorut Sing is a man of a good height, and a fair complexion for an Indian. He has black whiskers and a beard, a long nose, *and Rajpoot features*." Of this prince's court he remarks, "The court was different from any thing I had seen, those present being fairer than other Hindostanees, *and marked by their Jewish features*." After crossing the Indus, the same phenomenon re-appears. "There were several hordes of wandering shepherds, encamped in different parts of the vast plain where we were. We went, on the day after our arrival, to examine one, which belonged to the Kharotees*, the rudest of all the pastoral tribes.—The girls, I particularly observed, had aquiline noses, *and Jewish features*."

Where the Jewish physiognomy was thus marked upon the confines of Afghánistan, we can well understand the impression made, by

* "The Kharotees inhabit the hills between the Gomul and the range of Solimaun,"—*Elphinstone*. The Kharotees are a branch tribe of the Ghiljies, as appears from another passage, p. 438. "To Boorhaun belong the [Ghiljie] clans of *Solimaun Khail*, Ali Khail, etc. It is uncertain, even with the Ghiljies, to which branch we ought to assign the remaining clan of Kharotee."—*Ib.* p. 437.

this physical national peculiarity, upon Sir Alexander Burnes, and so many beside who have visited the interior. Mr. Elphinstone does not recur to the subject, though, doubtless, similarly impressed.

Now, where the national physiognomy (and a Jewish physiognomy, above that of every other nation, is one not to be mistaken) thus strikingly coincides with the universal national tradition, the proof stands upon wholly different grounds from those stated by Mr. Elphinstone, where he tells his readers that, "when closely examined, it will appear to rest upon *a vague tradition alone.*" For here we have before us two clearly separate evidences, corresponding with the conclusiveness of two answering tallies; the physical confirming the traditional; and the traditional accounting for the physical. To overlook the essence of a proof like this, I must say, is unlike this author. It is one of those lapses, incident even to the most gifted intellects, which so frequently admonishes us of the mingled "strength and weakness of the human mind." When we see (and how often may be seen) the strength of an argument thus lost, and its weakness only dwelt on, the saying of a profound thinker of our own times* ceases to

* The late Alexander Knox.

be a paradox: "It is astonishing how few men know how to reason."

But to pass to the third point of evidence, undesignedly supplied, as it appears from its being wholly unnoticed in Elphinstone's "Caubul,"—the witness of a Jewish nomenclature throughout Afghánistan.

3. The importance of this point, were it not self-evident, might justly be measured by the stress laid by Sir William Jones even upon the unascertained probability of its existence: "It is even asserted, that their families are distinguished by the names of Jewish tribes." What was matter of assertion only in his time, is matter of certainty in ours; Mr. Elphinstone himself being here our main authority. His Jewish nomenclature, happily, is as copious as it is important: I shall, therefore, take the liberty of quoting from him largely.

"The origin of the name of Afghaun, now so generally applied to the nation I am about to describe, is entirely uncertain; *but is, probably, modern.* It is known to the Afghauns themselves only through the medium of the Persian language. Their own name for their nation is Pushtoon; in the plural, Pooshtauneh.

"The Arabs call them SOLIMAUNEE; but, whether from their possessing the mountains of

Solimaun, from the name of some chief who may have headed them, when first invaded by the Arabs; *or from some circumstance connected with their supposed descent from the Jews*, is entirely uncertain. They have *no general name for their own country**; but sometimes apply the Persian one of Afghaunistaun.

"All accounts agree that they inhabited the mountains of Ghore *from a very remote period* †, and they seem early to have possessed *the mountains of Solimaun;* which term, in its most extended sense, comprehends all the southern mountains of Afghaunistaun.

* This is a marked circumstance: so unusual, as to imply, antecedently, something very peculiar in their history and settlement. In one respect, moreover, it quadrates strikingly with the circumstances of banished Israel, who could have no *home* but in the Land of Promise; and, therefore, would be unlikely to give *a general name* to the country in which they dwelt as pilgrims only and sojourners.

† "They say that Nebuchadnezzar, after the overthrow of the temple of Jerusalem, transplanted them to the town of Ghore, near Bameean." —*Sir Alexander Burnes*, "*Travels into Bokhara*," vol. ii. p. 139. What is there, *per se*, incredible in this national tradition? or why should it be discredited without such examination as the nature of the case may admit of? The maxim of Bochart, that "every nation should be credited, unless reason can be shown to the contrary, in the account that it gives of its origin," applies equally to the accounts given by nations of their fortunes. It is pre-eminently applicable in the case of banished Israel and Judah; whose unparalleled misfortunes must have been engraven on the national memory, in a way unexampled in the case of any other people. It will hereafter appear that this Afgh n tradition of the fortunes of the children of the Captivity under Nebuchadnezzar, is corroborated, independently, by the Jewish accounts; which represent this mighty conqueror as colonizing his frontiers (probably with commercial views) both in the East and West, with bodies of Hebrew emigrants.

"*It is certain*, that the princes of Ghore belonged to the Afghaun tribe of Sooree, and that their dynasty was allowed to be *of very great antiquity, even in the eleventh century.*

"This people [of Ghore] was governed, in the reign of Mahmood of Ghuzni, by a prince named Mahommed*, who was defeated and taken prisoner by that conqueror. His descendants suffered many injuries from the house of Ghuznee, till the middle of the twelfth century, when they, at last, took up arms, defeated and dethroned the king of Ghuznee, and burnt that magnificent capital to the ground. They afterwards continued to extend their empire, and, by degrees, reduced under their government, the whole of the present kingdom of Caubul, India, Bulkh, Budukhshaun, and a great part of Khorassaun."

In this statement, which certifies the remote antiquity of the sovereignty, and the still more remote antiquity, consequently, of the settlement, of the Afghán nation in its present abodes, attention is called chiefly to the ethno-

* This name alone negatives the notion, in some accounts, that "the people of Ghore were idolaters in the tenth century;" and confirms the Afgh'n tradition that they were among the earliest proselytes to Mahometanism. Enough that a prince bearing the name of the false prophet, was their sovereign in the age of Mahmoud of Gazna.— See *Elphinstone.* p. 153.

nymic *Solimaunee*, or *the people of Solomon*, given them by the Arabs, and to the name of one of their earliest possessions in Afghánistan, viz. the mountains of *Solimaun*, or *Solomon*.

To these marks of apparently Israelitish nomenclature we must add, that the loftiest peak of the Solimaun range is denominated *Tukht-i-Soleimaun*, or *Solomon's Throne* * (a fact which proves the whole range to have been so named from King Solomon); and that a great Afghán branch tribe, inhabiting this region, also bears the name of *Solimaun* or *Solimaunee*. This "Clan Solomon," as it may properly be styled, is thus described by our author: "The Solimaun Khail is much more numerous than any other Ghiljie clan: its numbers are said to amount to 30,000, or 35,000, families. It is divided into

* Mr. Elphinstone's description of the mountain ranges of Afghánistan, as seen for the first time as a whole, gives such a picture of their grandeur, and is so perfect as a piece of descriptive writing, that every lover of nature, in her sublimest forms, will thank me for its introduction here:

"The snowy range is by no means of equal elevation, being, in some places, surmounted by peaks of great height and magnitude, which do not taper to a point, but rise at once from their base, with amazing boldness and grandeur. The stupendous height of these mountains; the magnificence and variety of their lofty summits; the various nations by whom they are seen, and who seem to be brought together by this common object; and the awful and undisturbed solitude, which reigns amidst their eternal snows; fill the mind with admiration and astonishment, that no language can express." — P. 95.

four distinct Ooloosses, but may be taken in two parts, the southern and northern, with reference both to geographical, and to political situation." *

The Israelitish origin of these Afghán appellatives, and especially of that of *Solimaun Khail*, or *Clan Solomon*, is corrobated by the further circumstance, that another Afghán clan bears the name *Dawood-zie*, or *the tribe of David.*† The "Dawood-zyes" are enumerated by Mr. Elphinstone, in his list of the Afgháns "generally called the tribes of Peshawer." They amount to 10,000 families.

The clearly Hebrew names of Afghán tribes or clans, *Ishak-zye*‡, or *the tribe of Isaac*, *Esau-khail*, or *Clan Esau*, *Moossa-khail*, or *Clan Moses*§, need only to be mentioned. They tell,

* P. 238.

† May not the name of one Afghán locality, "*Sioona* Daug," come, also, from the city of David, Sion?

‡ "The Ishaukh-zyes live between Zemundawer and the desert; and their country shares the character of those on which it borders; being hilly and fertile on the north, and flat and barren on the south. The people are employed in equal numbers on agriculture and pasturage. Their numbers are about ten thousand families."— *Elphinstone*, p. 399. "The employment of Meer-Akhor, or Master of the Horse, is hereditary in the head family of the Ishak-zyes."— *Ib.* p. 516.

§ The name of an Afghán mountain range, *Khojeh Amraun* (or *the lord Amraun*), being the same with *Amram*, the father of Moses, comes in very remarkably to corroborate the Israelitish origin of the Afghán name and tribe of Moossa-Khail. From the History of the Jews of Cochin we learn that this was the title of the *Levites* after the Babylonish

at once, their only probable origin. That of *Ishmael-khail*, or *Clan Ishmael*, might be added, were it not referable to the influences of Mahometanism, or assumable, at least, to be so. But the *Sauleh-khail*, or *Clan of Saul*, derives a significance, which imparts itself to all the others, from the circumstance of the Afghâns claiming imaginary descent from the first king of Israel.

This group of Hebrew patronymics, giving names to the tribes or classes of a great Eastern nation, in a way without example in other Mahometan populations, might alone justly awaken interest and inquiry. But when avowedly originating in union with a universal national tradition, and taken in connection with the claim of Israelitish descent, it assumes the character and weight of substantive internal evidence.

Names connected with the soil are here especially to be noted; because every where, but above all in Eastern countries, these are generally sure to be of the highest antiquity; and localities retain their names. This observation applies with peculiar force to the denominations,

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Captivity; who are there described as הלוים בני משה,* *The Levites, Sons of Moses*, dwelling beyond the Euphrates. This is a curious corroboration of the Afghan name *Moosa-Khail*, or *The Clan of Moses*; a tribe which, it hence would appear, is a portion of the tribe of Levi.

* *Cochin Roll*, p. 30.

"The mountains of Solomon," "The throne of Solomon," already adverted to. This vast mountain range must, according to the laws of probability, have been so named originally, and could hardly have been so named capriciously, by the first Afghán possessors of the country. This consideration speaks volumes as to its origin. The term, "The throne of Solomon," applied to its loftiest peak, rivets the true derivation. The prominence of this mountain as a feature in the country, is thus graphically described by Mr. Elphinstone. "Great part of this country (that of the Vizeerees) is occupied by the lofty mountain of Tukhti Solimaun, and the hills which surround its base. Many parts of it are nearly inaccessible; one of the roads is, in some places, cut out of the steep face of the hill, and, in others, supported by beams inserted in the rock, and, with all this labour, is still impracticable for loaded bullocks." The names of localities like this are not given or changed in a day. They are time-worn.

I would not, however, rest the antiquity, either of the existing nomenclature, or the existing tribes, of Afghánistan, upon general inferences merely. In some particular instances I am prepared to prove, from irrefragable authority, that Afghán names and tribes now in being,

were equally in being, in the same localities, at the commencement of the Christian era.

This I will now briefly show, from a comparison of the classical with the modern geography of this part of Asia. There can be no collusion in topographical coincidences between Ptolemy and Elphinstone. It is not my object to exhaust this kind of evidence: I will take, for the present, only a few salient points.

Baborana.—This denomination Ptolemy assigns to a city and district of Afghanistan, placed by him in longitude 118°, latitude 37° 20′. The site of Baborana is further determined, in the geography of Ptolemy, by its lying under his *Niphanda* (Elphinstone's *Suffaid Coh*, or *Snow-mountain**), the head of the great Solimaun range of the Indian Caucasus, running southward from the Hindu Coush. Baborana,

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* "The range of Solimaun commences at the lofty mountain, which has derived the name of Suffaid Coh, or White Mountain, *from the snow with which it is always covered.* Suffaid Coh stands to the south of the projection of Hindoo Coosh, and is only separated from it [as is Ptolemy's Niphanda] by the valley of the Caubul river, from which it rises with a very steep acclivity. The Afghauns more frequently call this mountain *Spunghur* than Suffaid Coh. The former has the same meaning in Pushtoo that the latter has in the Persian.' — *Elphinstone*, p. 100. There is no mistaking this verification: the solitary *eternal snow mountain* of Solimaun, has the one title in every age and language. "Suffaid Coh is covered with snow throughout the year; but I believe no other part of the range has snow after the end of spring." —p. 101.

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AN AFGHAN OF DAMAUN: or
MAN OF THE "BENI ISRAEL"

therefore, is a city and region situated immediately west of the Solimaun mountains.

Now observe Mr. Elphinstone's account and nomenclature of the actual inhabitants of this part of Western Afghánistan. "I am now to speak of the tribes which inhabit the range of Solimaun. The Sheeraunees inhabit north of those of the Zmunees. Their country overlooks that of the *Babours*." Again: "To the north-west of Zhobe is Khyssore, which seems to be a valley under the hills which support the table land of *Seeona Daug:* on the north-east, Zhobe* opens on the valley of the Gomul; and on the east, it has the hilly countries *under the range of Solimaun;* the most northerly of which belong to the Hurrepaul division of the Sheeraunees, *to the south of whom are a division of the Bauboors*." †

* Can the sacred geographer meet this name, in conjunction with that of *Seeona Daug*, in a country professedly colonized by the tribes of Israel, without its recalling to mind the *Zobah* of the Old Testament, so often the scene of the achievements of Saul and David? — See 1 Sam. xiv. 47., 2 Sam. viii. 3., 1 Kings, xi. 24., 1 Chron. xviii. 3.

† "The Bauboors are a civilized tribe, much addicted to merchandize; and, on the whole, the richest and most flourishing of the tribes of the Damaun. Their Khaun has considerable power, and they are reckoned among the quietest and most honest of the Afghan tribes. The Bauboors of the plain are about four thousand families. A large division of the Bauboors lives in Sehra, beyond the mountains of Solimaun [the site of Ptolemy's *Baborana*]. It is contiguous to the country of the Sheeraunees, with whom those Bauboors are much connected, and whom they resemble in their manners and customs." This description, while it marks the prominence, corroborates the antiquity of this tribe. It is that of a people of ancient standing in the country.

I am not about to discuss the matter with special pleaders, whose lynx-eyed perspicacity can find or make flaws in all evidence, save that of the propositions of Euclid. I appeal only to the judgment of the sound geographer, and the good sense of the general reader, whether any rational doubt can be entertained that the "Babours" of Elphinstone are the inhabitants of Ptolemy's "Baborana"? This Afghán tribe, therefore, was seated in Baborana, immediately under the range of Solimaun, on its eastern side, at the commencement of the second century of the Christian era, in a city and district bearing its own name; and as cities do not rise in a day, and settlements, to be noted in ancient geography, were presumeably of long previous duration, the Babours of Baborana may reasonably be supposed to have pre-existed in those localities for centuries before Ptolemy's time. But the Babours, in common with all the Afghán tribes, style themselves, it appears, *Beni Israeel*, "the Children of Israel;" and, the character of all Eastern tradition taken into account, it is almost a truism to add, that they must always have done so. Thus, in their case, we have, at once, the claim to Israelitish origin, and the proof of Israelitish descent, carried back to the first century; or even far beyond it, towards

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A DOORAUNEE AFGHAN:
or MAN OF THE "BENI ISRAEEL"

the period of the Assyrian and Babylonian Captivities. We pass on to a name, when duly examined, of more prominent interest, and embracing far wider results.

Doroacana.—This city of ancient Kabolistan is located by Ptolemy in longitude 118° 45′, latitude 34° 45′. He fixes it south-west of *Baborana* and *Locharna*, all three lying east under the range of Solimaun. The *Locharna* of Ptolemy is obviously the *Logur* of Elphinstone. I proceed to identify his *Doroacana*, with the city of Cabul, and its inhabitants, "*the great tribe of the Douraunees.*" This identification, of the city at least, shall be given in the words of Mr. Elphinstone: "The plain of Caubul, has the Paropamisan mountains on the west, part of the Cohistaun on the north, and the hills of Ningrahaur or Ning-nehaur* and *Logur*, *connected with the range of Solimaun*, on the east. To the south, it opens on a long valley ascending towards Ghuznee, the greater part of which is inhabited by the Afghaun tribe of Wurduk. On the west, this valley has the Paropamisan

* "From the nine streams which issue from it: *nung*, in Pishtoo, signifying *nine*; and *nehaura*, *a stream*"—*Elphinstone*, p. 120., note.* In this compound, the second term is pure Arabic, viz. نهر *nahar*, a river. The relation of the Pushtoo to the Hebrew and Arabic, will be found far greater than has hitherto been thought.

range; and on the east, it has different branches of the range of Solimaun, including valleys, of which the principal are Logur," &c. Now, whoever examines the Ninth Table of Ptolemy's Asia, will see that the site of his *Doroacana* is placed in the region here described, or in the high plain of Cabul, lying between the Paropamisan mountains and the Solimaun range; under the latter of which ranges it is situated. But this site is the site of Cabul, for which Doroacana is only another name. This name is obviously derived from that of its inhabitants, the *Douranees.** And this greatest of the Afghán tribes, consequently, is, equally with the Babours, distinctly traced to the second century, and far, though indefinitely, beyond it. But the Douranees, like the Babours, style themselves *Beni Israeel;* and, doubtless, have always done so. Thus, for the colonization of Afghánistan, and the descent of the Afgháns, we ascend a second time to the first century, and towards the period of the Captivity.

But, while the present name of the city, on the one hand, is thus merged by Ptolemy in the

* Notwithstanding the change of their name fro[illegible]laullees to Douranees, ascribed to a dream of Ahmed Khan, I prefer the evidence of Ptolemy; and believe the change, if it took place, to have been the restoration only of their ancient name. National names are hardly to be changed by the whims of rulers.

present name of its population; it is very remarkable, on the other hand, that he gives to the entire population of this region the present name of the city. His *Kabolitæ* are the people of *Kabul*, and *Kabulistan*. The ancient and modern names reciprocally verify each other.

From their capital, Doroacana, we turn to the country of the Kabolitæ. They are seated by Ptolemy along the entire course of his Dar-gomanis river; and his Dar-gomanis is the same with the Helmund or Etymander. The identity is demonstrated by the facts, that the Dar-gomanis and the Helmund, or one of its chief branches, the Turnuk, alike rise near Gazna* (thus proved, at the same time, identical with the *Gauzaca* of Ptolemy), and flow alike into the great lake of *Sejestan* (in the country of the *Asateni* of Ptolemy).

Let Mr. Elphinstone now describe for us this river, and name the tribes bordering on it. We shall learn something more than the name of Ptolemy's Cabolitæ, and their connection with his *Doroacana*.

"The greatest of the rivers, which run

* The long course of the Helmund river through mountains, seems to have been unknown to Ptolemy. Accordingly, he places its source near Gazna, instead of near Cabul. The source of his Dargomanis Fl., is that of the Turnuk.

through the west of Afghanistaun, is the Helmund, or Etymander. It rises at Cohee Baba, twenty or thirty miles west of Caubul, on the eastern edge of the Paropamisan range. It runs through those mountains for upwards of two hundred miles, and then issues into the cultivated plains of the DOURANEES." The Douranees of Elphinstone, it follows, are the Kabolitæ of Ptolemy.

Let us follow them in Mr. Elphinstone's further descriptions. "There is no marked limit between the Aubistandeh* and the country west of the meridian of Mohkoor; the latter, however, has a western inclination. It is included between the Paropamisan mountains and the range of Kojah Amraun; and may be divided into the valley of the Urghessaun, that of the Turnuk, and the high country between those rivers. The former is not broad, nor remarkably fertile: it slopes to the northward. It is inhabited by *Douranees;* and the mouth of it extends to the neighbourhood of Candahar."

"The whole of the country I have been describing, from Khelautee Ghiljie to Heraut, ex-

* The Aub-istandeh is identified with Ptolemy's Aria lacus, not only by its locality, but by the nomenclature. For Ptolemy places on the banks of his Aria lacus the city of *Astauda*, and Aub-istandeh, is *the water of Astauda.*

cept Secalibund and Suzaur, *is inhabited by the tribe of Douranee*, which is *the greatest among the Afghauns.*"

These verifications may give some just idea of the real antiquity of the Afghán settlements in the mountains of Ghore, thought by some to have been their primitive seats; and on which Mr. Elphinstone observes, "All accounts agree that they inhabited the mountains of Ghore *from a very remote period.*" غور, *Ghore*, would appear to be merely the Arabic term for *a border country*, or *a district surrounded and shut-in by mountains.** And, accordingly, we find, in the Afghánistan of Ptolemy, on the opposite side from Ghore, the city of *Gorya;* and the district of *Goriæa*†, in *Swat*, south of his *Lambatæ* or

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* غور, i. q. ثغور, Confinia regionis, Locus regionis angustior inter montes. — *Golius.*

† "There are three Ghores, all within the borders of the Paropamisan mountains; and it is not very obvious which of the three was the seat of the Ghoree kings. The first is to the south-east of Bulkh; the second, north-west of Ghuznee; and the third, east of Furra. The few native opinions I have heard, fix on the last-mentioned place; and I am strongly inclined to agree with them, from the consideration of a passage in D'Herbelot (article Gaiatheddin), where one of the kings of Ghore is said to have reduced "Raver and Kermessir, which separate Ghore from Hindostan. These countries must, therefore, have lain to the east of Ghore. Now, of the three Ghorees, that near Furrah alone is to the west of Gurmseer and Dawer [the Raver and Kermessir of D'Herbelot], and, consequently, it alone can be said to be separated from Hindostan by those districts."— *Elphinstone*, p. 153, note.*

If this be so (and I quite concur in Mr. Elphinstone's view), the

Lampagae and *Suasteni*, towards the Indus. Whence I infer the settlement of the Afghán tribes "in the mountains of Ghore from a very remote period," to be contemporary with that in the *Gorya* and *Goriæa* of Ptolemy*, in Eastern Afghánistan.

Ghore of early Afghán history, is the Gorya and Goriæa of Ptolemy, in Swat. His *Daradræ* are the people of *Dawer*: his *Gandaræ*, with less likelihood, those of *Gurmseer*.

* Nothing in geographical research is in itself more interesting, or better repays the care bestowed, than a close collation of Ptolemy with our best modern maps and surveys. His Gorya and Goriæa, with the adjoining mountains and rivers, for instance, collated with Elphinstone, strikingly exemplify the essential fidelity of his nomenclature, and correctness of his positions.

We will first take Mr. Elphinstone's description of the country laid down. "The next river is that of Kauskhaur [vulgo *Cashgar*], which rises in Pushtee Khure, the peak in Beeloot Taugh, which contains the source of the Oxus. The Kaushkhaur river issues from the opposite side of the peak, and is divided from the Oxus by the chain of Beeloot Taugh, which runs along its right bank as far as Hindoo Coosh; and, *on its left, is the country of Kaushkhaur, from which it derives its name.* After passing Hindoo Coosh, it has, *on its right, the projection from that mountain*, so often mentioned before. *On its left, it has mountains parallel to that projection*, of great height, but not bearing perpetual snow. It then passes through the hilly country beneath the great ranges, and rushes, with surprising violence, into the valley of the Caubul river. I give that name, in conformity to former usage, to a river, formed by different streams, uniting to the East of Caubul. *Two of the most considerable come from Hindoo Coosh*, through *Ghore-bund*, and Punj-sheer *and derive their names from those districts.* They join to the north [?] of Caubul; and pursue a south-easterly course, till they reach *Bauree-Kaub.* A stream little inferior to those just mentioned, comes from the west of Ghuznee; and is joined, to the east of Caubul, by a rivulet, which rises *in the Puropamisan mountain*, in the hill called Cohee Baba. This rivulet alone passes through Caubul, and may be said to have given its name to the whole river.

NATIONAL CUSTOMS AND CHARACTERISTICS CORROBORATIVE OF ISRAELITISH ORIGIN.

To the foregoing marks of Israelitish nomenclature in Afghánistan, and geographical proofs that the tribes to whom this nomenclature now

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"All the streams I have mentioned, unite at Bauree-kaub, and form the river of Caubul, *which flows rapidly to the East*, increased by all the brooks from the hills on each side. *It receives the river of Kaush-khaur*, at Kaurneh, near Jellalabad; and thence runs east, *breaks through the minor branches of Hindoo Coosh*, and forms numerous rapids and whirlpools.

"After entering the plain of Peshawer, the Caubul river loses a good deal of its violence, but is still rapid. It breaks into different branches, which join again, after they have received a river, formed by two streams, which come from the valleys of Punjcora and *Swaut*; and having now collected all its waters, it enters the Indus little above Attock."—*Elphinstone*, pp. 112—114.

Now, on a superficial inspection, this account may seem to contain little in common with that of Ptolemy; with whose nomenclature and projections, it, nevertheless, in all the main points, completely coincides. For Ptolemy's *Coas Fl.*, rising in his *Caucasii Montes*, and running between two projections from that range, through his *Goriæa*, is the *Kaus-khaur* river of Elphinstone, rising in Hindoo *Coosh* (whence, probably, the name *Coas* or *Khaus*), and running, between its projections through *Ghorebund*. His *Suastus Flu.* so named by Ptolemy, from its passing through *Swaut*, is the Punjsheer. His third river (by him unnamed), rising in the Paropamisan mountains near Gazna, running in a south-eastern direction, and piercing the opposite range projected from Hindoo Coosh, is the Caubul river, precisely so described and represented by Mr. Elphinstone. Again, Ptolemy's Gorya and Goriæa, on the left bank of his Coas Flu., is Mr. Elphinstone's "country of Kaush-*khaur*, on the left of his Kauskhaur river, from which it derives its name." Lastly, Ptolemy's *Baborana*, near the junction of the rivers, is pretty manifestly Mr. Elphinestone's *Bauree*-kaub.

If the Alexandrine geographer's details are sometimes, apparently somewhat out of position, the error may often, and with justice, be suspected to lie rather in Mercator's maps, than in Ptolemy's projections.

belongs, are the same with those who occupied the country in and before the age of Ptolemy, I would here subjoin corroborative evidence of another kind,—the evidence arising from national customs and characteristics.

"Life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot," was the well known Mosaic Law of retaliation. The strict observance, among the Afgháns, of the same law of retaliation, is thus stated by Mr. Elphinstone: "The injured party is considered to be entitled to strict retaliation on the aggressor: *an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth*, and so on."

"Moses said, If a man die, having no children, his brother shall marry his wife, and raise up seed unto his brother." Here is another, and very peculiar Mosaic law. Sir Alexander Burnes informs us, that this is, also, the Afghán law; and that it is brought home for its origin to Judaism by the physical aspect, and traditional descent, of this singular people: "The Afgháns look like Jews; they say they are descended from the Jews; *and the younger brother marries the widow of the elder, according to the law of Moses.*"

Avarice, and the love of gain, have been the national sin and characteristic of fallen Israel. The existence of this, as "the ruling passion," in

a nation calling itself Israelite, is internal evidence for its claim. Let us hear authorities on this point, as to the national character of the Afgháns.

"Avarice (says Sir George Rose) is *their ruling passion.*" "The love of gain (says Mr. Elphinstone) seems to be *their ruling passion;* most of the Douranee chiefs prefer hoarding up their great, but useless, treasures, to the power, reputation, and esteem, which the circumstances of the times would enable them to command by a moderate liberality. *The influence of money on the whole nation,* is spoken of by those who know them best, *as boundless,* and *it is not denied by themselves.**

These national customs and characteristics, by which the Afgháns are distinguished from the surrounding Mahometan nations, might, even under ordinary circumstances, well arrest the attention of the ethnologist. But when considered as the customs and characteristics of a nation of Jewish aspect, and calling themselves Israelites, they assume an importance which cannot rationally be eluded. It is in vain to explain them away: they become *brands* of the Hebrew race.

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* Elphinstone's Caubul, p. 250.

A more general, but scarcely less significant, indication of their Israelitish origin, is discernible in one grand peculiarity, as contradistinguished from the surrounding nations, — the purely *patriarchal character* of their manners and institutions.

"We find (observes Mr. Elphinstone), among the western Afgháns, a sort of primitive simplicity, *which reminds us rather of the Scriptural accounts of the early ages*, than of any thing which has been observed by moderns in nations where society is still in its infancy." *

Again: "The independence of the Sirdars is maintained by the influence over their clans, which they derive from their birth, *and from the patriarchal institutions of the Afghán tribes.*" †

The patriarchal character belongs equally, or more strongly still, to the Eastern tribes; of the chief of which Mr. Elphinstone remarks: "The slender tie which holds their societies together, is derived from community of blood, and subordination to the representative of a common ancestor. *Their government is patriarchal.*" ‡

These traits, in any case significant, become fixed and appropriated, when taken in connec-

* P. 389. † P. 402. ‡ P. 377.

tion with Hebrew aspect and claims. Isolated in his mountains, the Afghán, in countenance and complexion, is equally unlike the Indian, the Tibetian, the Persian, and the Tartar, by whom he is surrounded. But the physiognomy which is thus foreign from all around him, finds its prototype in the most marked physiognomy of the whole human family, that of the Jews. Struck by the strong contrast, and strange identity, of feature, we naturally ask, Who are you? He answers, We are BENI ISRAEEL. We may refuse our belief, because we may refuse to believe any thing; but scepticism cannot change the physical characteristics of nations; scepticism cannot unmake the countenance of the Jew.

The Israelitish names of Afghán tribes or localities already noticed, taken in their inseparable connection with the national claim to an Israelitish origin, are significantly corroborative of that claim itself. Although the nomenclature of Afghánistan, however, as thus far examined into, is clearly *biblical* altogether beyond the usage of Mahometan nations, it does not include the name or names of any of the lost tribes of Israel. It is with proportional interest, therefore, that we come now, at length, to a denomination upon which there can be no mistake: a

patronymic, which, in one of its derivatives, stands, in Scripture, as the representative of the whole Ten Tribes, and which is itself the common synonyme for two of those Tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh. The reader will anticipate my return to the Afghan tribe denominated Yousoph-zie, or The Tribe of Joseph. Obvious and familiar, however, as the scriptural fact ought to be, it may be apprehended that, by many, it may not be borne in mind that "The tribe of Joseph" is the scriptural equivalent for the two half tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh; but appropriated pre-eminently, in the Apocalype, to the great Tribe of Ephraim. Thus, in Numbers, xiii. 8 and 11, we read, "Of the tribe of Ephraim, Oshea the son of Nun,—of the tribe of Joseph, *namely*, of the tribe of Manasseh, Gaddi the son of Susi:" and in Revelation, vii. 6 and 8, "Of the tribe of Manasses were sealed twelve thousand. Of *the tribe of Joseph* were sealed twelve thousand:" while, in Numbers xxxvi. 5, we find the two half tribes united, by Moses himself, under this common patronymic: "And Moses commanded the children of Israel, according to the word of the Lord, saying, *The tribe of the sons of Joseph* hath said well."

The name of the great Afghán tribe of *Eusof*, or *Eusof-zie*, "the tribe of Joseph," is, in point

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A YUSOF-ZYE:

or AFGHAN OF "THE TRIBE OF JOSEPH"

of fact, the same with "The tribe of Ephraim," or *The tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh.* My reason for believing it, here, to represent Ephraim alone, is, as will appear hereafter, that the tribe of Manasseh is found elsewhere in India.

The scriptural origin, and real significancy, of the Afghán denomination *Eusof-zye*, now brought definitely to light, is palpably of the very highest importance. For, in Ephraim, we virtually recover the ten lost tribes, of which Ephraim is the scriptural representative. While we recover them practically, in the surrounding Afghán tribes, who, as certainly as the Eusofzies are "the Tribe of Joseph," are themselves the representatives of others of the lost Ten Tribes. But, if this be so, the question to what tribe or tribes they may, respectively, belong, is quite a subordinate consideration.

From this recovery in the Eusof-zye, of the great lost tribe of Ephraim, I proceed to Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone's account of that Afghán race. A few short extracts will suffice to show how far their character continues to throw light upon their origin, by its actual conformity with the Scripture character of Ephraim.

"The original seats of the Eusof-zyes were about Gana and Noshky: the last of which places at least, is on the borders of the Dushtee

Loot, or Great Salt Desert, and now held by the Beloches, under Kelauti Nusseer.

"The Eusof-zyes have possessed these countries [their present seats] for upwards of three hundred years; and though most of them have heard *that their origin is from the west**, few possess any knowledge of the original residence, and former fortunes, of their tribe." †

Speaking of the invasion of the Eusof-zye country by the first Mogul emperor, Baber ‡, our

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* The importance of the light arising from this particular Eusof-zye tradition will appear, when we come to the question, — How the Israelites of the Captivity came to migrate into Afghanistán and southern India, and from whence?

† "The following account is extracted from a history of the Eusofzyes, written in a mixture of Pushtoo and Persian, in the year 1184 of the Hejira (A. D. 1771). The original history is of considerable length; and, though mixed with such fables as the superstitious and romantic notions of the country suggest, *it has a consistency, and an appearance of truth and exactness, which would entitle it to credit*, even if it were not corroborated by the Emperor Bauber, who is one of the principal actors in the events which it describes, and is besides one of the most correct historians in Asia." — *Id.* p. 330.

‡ "The kingdom of Caubul had fallen into the hands of the famous Emperor Bauber, who was then rising into notice. He several times attacked the Eusofzyes; but made no great impression on them, as they always found a secure retreat among their hills. At last, Bauber made peace with them, and secured them in his interests, *by marrying a daughter of their Khaun*. Bauber himself decribes these campaigns in his Commentaries, *and confirms the story of his marriage*." — *Id. ib.*

These indubitable testimonies to the correctness, in the main, of the Eusof-zye history, reach beyond this history: they are a witness to the substantial truthfulness of Afghán tradition, and therefore, of their Hebrew origin. When what we can bring thus to a test proves to be fact, we have no right to reject what cannot be brought to a test.

author observes, "The whole tribe was under one Khaun, during these conquests; and his power seems to have been much greater than what the modern Khauns enjoy. The people, however, appear still *to have been turbulent and unruly.*"

"In their behaviour to other tribes or nations, they appear to have united the ferocity and craft of savages, with the moderation of a more advanced stage of civilization."

"It is hardly necessary to say that the Eusofzyes set the king at defiance; they boast of their independence of him, and scarcely consider the tribes under his government as Afghauns."

"What has already been said, will have prepared the reader for the utmost weakness of the government, if not for the absence of all government. A sense of independence, carried beyond the bounds which are essential to order, is characteristic of all the Afghauns; but most of their governments are despotisms, when compared with that of the Eusof-zyes.

"I have hitherto been speaking of quarrels between different clans; which, one would think, would unite the members of each more strongly among themselves. No such effect, however, appears. Even within the clans, there is nothing like peace or concord; the slightest occasion

gives rise to a dispute, which soon turns into an affray."

"The horrors of these domestic feuds are sometimes aggravated by a war with another Oolooss."

"The *Judoour*, a numerous branch of the Eusof-zyes, who live east of the Indus, allow great power to their chiefs, and, in consequence, are exempt from the strife and bloodshed which prevails among the other Eusof-zyes."

We have but to contemplate the spirit and conduct of rebellious Euphraim under David and his successors, and to remember that the Eusof-zyes call themselves "the tribe of Joseph*, that is, The Tribe of Ephraim," to see the character of the fathers reflected in the children's children; the same turbulent, restless, and rebellious spirit, which characterized Israel in the wilderness; and which led the prophet Hosea to describe, under an image borrowed from Sinai, Ephraim, even in the hour of her being "carried

* Their patriarchal name is preserved in its purity in that of one of the two main branches of the *Eusofzyes*. "The tribe of the Eusofzyes is divided into two great braches, Eusor, and Munder; the first of which acquired Swaut, Punjcora, and Boonere; and the latter, the plain north of the Caubul river, with the valley of Chumla. The Eusor are again divided into three separate, and now independent clans, the Accoozyes, Mooblezyes, and Lawezyes; of whom the former obtained Swaut and Punjcora, and the two latter Boonere." — *Elphinstone*.

away captive: For they are gone up to Assyria, a wild ass alone by himself."

From the foregoing delineations of the character, I pass to our author's description of the present seats of the Eusof-zyes. "The Eusof-zyes are a very numerous tribe, divided into many little communities, chiefly under democratic constitutions. They possess the extensive country between the Otmaunkhail mountains and the Indus, Hindoo Coosh and the river of Caubul, composed of the northern part of the plain of Peshawer, and the valleys of Punjcora, Swaut, and Boonere. They also possess Drumtoor on the eastern side of the Indus." "The Eusof-zye part of the plain of Peshawer *extends along the banks of the Indus*, and *the river of Caubul*, from Torbela to Hushtnugger."

Having once identified the Eusof-zyes as "The Tribe of Joseph," or of "Ephraim," we may reasonably take this Afghán tribe and territory, as the nucleus around which we may naturally look to recover fresh traces of Israelitish nomenclature; possibly, even some vestiges of others of the lost tribes. Should any such evidences be still recoverable, it is very clear that the whole proof of the Israelitish origin claimed by the Afgháns, must be greatly strengthened and augmented. Having carefully ex-

amined, in Ptolemy and D'Anville, the borders of the Eusof-zye country with this special view, the result more than met my just anticipations. Of this my readers shall now be enabled to judge for themselves. 1. I found, in Ptolemy, on the Eusof-zye line of the Indus, the city of Ἰσάγουρος, or *Isagurus* (placed by him on the Indus near its confluence with the Bidaspes); a name which, at once, identifies itself with *Issachar*, and discloses to us that lost Tribe, side by side with Ephraim, seated upon the Indus, at the commencement of the second century, in a city of their own foundation; a geographical fact which carries back their first establishment in that locality far, though indefinitely, towards the Captivity. The *Isagurus* of Ptolemy re-appears, slightly modified or corrupted, in the *Ashnagar* of D'Anville, a town situated at the confluence of the *Behat* (*Bidaspes?*) or Hazaré river with the Indus; and on the border of the Eusof-zye district of lower Swat. 2. In the modern nomenclature of the adjacent mountains, lying to the east of the Indus, D'Anville here supplies a further corroboration, as important as it is clear, and all the more important, because, heretofore, it has passed wholly unobserved; I refer to his "*Joud* ou *Aïoud* Montagnes," *The Mountains of the Jews*, placed by him due east of *Isagurus* or *Ashnagar;*

being the chain which bounds the celebrated valley of Cashmeer, on its western side. I would observe only, that the denomination *Joud* or *Aïoud*, is applied indiscriminately, in the East, to the whole Hebrew race; as we see, at the present day, in the instance of the Black and White Jews of Cochin. The fact, that the Hebrew rolls of Books of the Old Testament, still extant among the Black Jews of Malabar (as proved by an example now in my possession), written on sheets of red goat-skin, came to them *from Cashmeer*, at once proves the existence of an ancient Hebrew colonization in that valley, and explains D'Anville's "Montagnes de Joud on Aïoud."

3. On the opposite, or western side of the Eusof-zye country, occurs another territorial appellation, scarcely less indicative of Israelitish origin than that of *Isagurus*. Like this, it has hitherto escaped notice in this connection: yet, if the verification prove correct, in it we recover another of the lost Tribes; a Tribe, moreover, often joined, in the Old Testament, with Issachar. The denomination for which I would now bespeak attention is *Zablestan;* a region of Afghánistan, whose boundaries, and chief localities, are thus defined by D'Herbelot:

"*Zablestan.* Nom d'une Province limitrophe de l'Indostan. Elle est située entre les Pro-

vinces de Khorassan au Septentrion, de *Gaur* à l'Occident, du Segestan au Midi, et des Indes à l'Orient. Les principales villes de cette Province, sont Gazna, Bamian, Mümend, et quelques-uns y ajoutent Cabul, qui est la plus Septentrionale; *en y comprenant même une partie de celles de la Province de Gaur.*"

Whether the coincidence be regarded as designed, or casual, the territorial appellative Zablestan, may legitimately be rendered, "The land of ZEBULON." The contraction, or corruption of Zabulon-estan into Zabl-estan, is so easy and natural, that, so far as the names alone are concerned, the one may without hesitation be taken as the equivalent for the other. When to the common name of the region in question and of the lost tribe of Zebulun, we add the considerations, that its inhabitants, like all the Afgháns, claim to be a portion of the lost Ten Tribes, calling themselves Beni-Israeel; and that Zablestan is said to include a part of the primitive seats of these self-named Israelites in Gaur, thus linking its inhabitants with the original emigration; there seems no reasonable ground of exception to the belief that Zabl-estan is the seat of the lost Tribe whose name it apparently preserves.

The grouping of the existing evidences of

Israelitish nomenclature in Afghánistan at this stage of the argument, it is preserved, can hardly fail to arrest and fix the attention of the thoughful and unbiased reader. There remains, however, still untouched, one comprehensive proof; a proof combining and compacting together all the rest, which had heretofore equally escaped the observation of others and my own. The proof in question and in conclusion is this, that the country itself was anciently denominated, and is denominated to this day, from its immemorial inhabitants, the lost Tribes of Israel.

It was not until I had completed the survey of Afghánistan, and the detail of evidences now laid before the reader, that my attention was recalled by it *to one Ptolemaic name of a people*, which had always perplexed, without in the least enlightening me. The name, indeed, was so general as to seem absolutely without any definite meaning. In traversing the country upon Ptolemy's Ninth Table, I had again and again passed it over as an unsolvible problem: for, in the entire field of his nomenclature, it stood alone. At last, as proofs for my argument accumulated, its connection with banished Israel suddenly broke upon my mind; and, where all had been hopeless obscurity, all instantaneously be-

came clear. The name was Ἀριστόφυλοι, ARISTOPHYLI, "THE NOBLE TRIBES." By Israel alone could such a title be appropriated, and to Israel alone could such a name be characteristically applied. But its appropriation by the lost Ten Tribes of Israel, "The tribes of the Lord," was, at once, Scriptural and natural; while its application to them by the heathen geographer was only the natural and necessary consequence of its prior adoption by themselves as their rightful ethnonymic; a mournful remembrancer, even as "by the waters of Babylon they sat down and wept," of their *divinely ennobled* race! From thoughts like these I was, the next moment, awakened by a fresh discovery and restoration. Ptolemy disposes his Aristophyli in juxtaposition with his *Kabolitæ*. The juxtaposition of the two names first opened my eyes to their common meaning; and to the fact, self-evident when once adverted to, that the ancient *Kabolitæ* are, literally, "The Tribes," and the modern *Kabul*, and *Kabulistan*, the city and country of "The Tribes." The name is simply from the Arabic term, قبيلة, *kabīlat*, "Tribus, "A Tribe," pl. قبايل, *kabail*, Tribus, "Tribes." The term is now, indeed, familiar to the English reader, from the French wars in Algeria, against Abdel-Kader and "The Kabyles."

Like most discoveries of value, easy when once made, I may own that my only surprise was, that we should so long have been so near the light without seeing it. The true etymology and application of the terms *Kabolitæ*, *Kabul*, and *Kabulistan*, indeed, might still be disputed by "word-catchers who live on syllables," had not Ptolemy's *Aristophyli*, "The Noble Tribes," happily come in to confute effectually, if not to silence, this class of objectors.

The traditional claims of the Afgháns to be what they uniformly, as appears by every kind of evidence, style themselves, *Beni-Israeel*, or the main body, at least, of the lost Ten Tribes, thus far established by geographical proofs, ancient and modern, as well as by their own topographical nomenclature of their tribes and localities, it needs only a few words and extracts at once to establish (with Sir George Rose) their further claim, although one not advanced by themselves, to the prophetic title of "The kings of the East." This title, in point of historical fact, they have, again and again, established for themselves, as conquerors and founders of mighty empires in the greatest countries in Asia. Not to waste words upon what is, or ought to be, known as a historical truism, I will submit the proof in Mr. Elphinstone's eloquent notices of the

conquests of two, only, of the great Afghán tribes.

"Such is the country of the Dooraunees, a tribe which still rules the whole of the Affghaun nation; whose government has been obeyed *from the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea to that of the Ganges;* and the effects of whose power have been felt *over Persia and Tartary;* and even at the remote capital (Poona, the capital of the Mahrattas) from which I write these pages."*

"The Ghiljies were, in former times, by far the most celebrated of the Affghauns. In the beginning of the last century, *this tribe, alone, conquered all Persia, and routed the armies of the Ottoman Porte.*† After a hard struggle, *the third Ghiljie king of Persia* was expelled by Nadir Shah; but some of the tribe remained independent in that country, till very lately; if, indeed, they are even now subdued. They inhabited Khubees and Numaumsheer, in the province of Kermaun. Some others still remain in Persia, mixed with the body of the people. The most famous that has appeared since the downfal of their own monarchy, was Azaud Khuun Solimaun Khail, who set up for king of Persia; and is well known as the most formidable of Kereem

* "*The Kingdom of Caubul,*" p. 396.

† "See *Hanway's Travels,* and *Jones's Histoire de Nadir Chah.*"

Khaun's competitors. It is said, both by the Persians and Affghauns, that their long struggle for the throne ended in a faithful friendship; and that Azaud lived for many years, in safety and honour, at the Court of his successful rival. The fact is consistent with Kerreem Khaun's character; and in a country where there is such a dearth of good faith and generosity, one would fain hope that it is authentic."*

Upon these statements I would now only remark, that, whether the facts stated be, or be not received as fulfilments of the Prophecy, the Affghauns *have* triumphantly asserted, historically, their right to the prophetic title claimed for them by Sir George Rose, that of "The Kings of the East."

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INDICATIONS AND VESTIGES OF THE MIGRATION OF BANISHED ISRAEL EASTWARD.

If the Afghán nation be, as has been thus far argued, the chief remnant of the lost Tribes of Israel, questions, in consequence, will arise, which it is reasonable to ask, and right, so far as practicable, to answer. The discovery of banished Israel seated, as a great nation in Af-

* *Elphinstone*, pp. 435, 436.

ghánistan, inevitably (to all reflecting minds at least) suggests the inquiry, how, when, and from whence they came there? This inquiry, it is my next object and duty to institute and pursue.

It is reasonably to be anticipated that, when nations migrate, traces of their migration shall be found upon their ascertainable route. It may further be presumed, on equally rational grounds, that if the migrating nation be not wholly nomadic, and their migration be prolonged into far-distant lands, traces of it will be legible, in after times, in the form of intermediate settlements and stations. Now, these antecedent probabilities pre-eminently hold in the case of the Ten Tribes, in their alleged transit, from "the cities of the Medes," to the mountains of Afghánistan; one district of which, *Hazarah*, lying along the Helmund river, Sir William Jones has, fairly enough, conjectured to be identical with the country of *Arsareth* or *Asareth*, mentioned as their remote retreat by Esdras. As Mr. Elphinstone has not only doubted, but undertaken to disprove this conjecture, it becomes necessary to inquire into his grounds of objection, and to see whether there may not exist still stronger grounds in favour of Sir William Jones's theory, than this distinguished

man has advanced against it. It is only fair to give his objection in his own words. "His (Sir William Jones's) first argument is drawn, from the resemblance of the name of *Hazaureh* to *Arsareth*, the country whither the Jews are said by Esdras to have retired. But this reasoning, which was never very satisfactory, is destroyed by the fact, that the *Hazaurehs* are *a nation*, who have but recently occcupied, and given their name to a part of Afghanistan."*

Now, not to dwell upon the uncertainty, in the East, of oral, or even of written information, upon points of this nature, after having examined more fully into the matter than either Mr. Elphinstone or Sir William Jones, I am prepared to prove that the name of Hazareth, and the nation of the Hazaurehs, are extant in Ptolemy, so far back as the second century of the Christian era: the former, in the very district now named *Hazara*, on the banks of the Helmund river; the latter in that of Ptolemy's *Kasirotæ*, a people of the adjacent country of Segestan. Mr. Elphinstone (or rather his coadjutor Lieutenant Macartney) thus describes Hazara in connection with the Helmund:—"This river is the greatest of the Khorasan rivers: it rises west of

* "*The Kingdom of Caubul*," p. 157.

Cabul, in the hill called Kohi Baba. Its course is south-west, *through the Hazara country.*"* The Helmund of Elphinstone, it has been already shown, is the Dargomanis of Ptolemy. Now, if we recover, in the Alexandrine geographer, the root of the name Hazara upon this river, the question at issue is at once disposed of, and disposed of in favour of Sir William Jones. For this restoration, I have only to refer the geographical reader to Ptolemy's Ninth Table, where he will find upon his Dargomanis, or the Helmund, the city of *Bar-Zaura:* the prefix being merely the Syriac term, *Bar* (*Sons*); but the name itself, very plainly, *Zaura*, or, with the article, *Hazaura.*

We come now to the second point, the nation of the Hazaurahs, at the present day seated on the Helmund. In Ptolemy, as I have already intimated, we find this very name, and, it may well be presumed, this very nation, in his Κασείρωται, *Casirotæ*, a people of the neighbouring country of Segestan, adjoining, on the south, another tribe or nation, named by him Αἰτύμανδροι, ÆTYMANDRI.

Now, it is signally to be noted that, according to Mr. Elphinstone himself, the river Helmund, at this day, bears, also, the name of the ETYMANDER;

* "*The Kingdom of Caubul,*" p. 663.

a fact which, at once, connects it with the *Æty-mandri* of Ptolemy; and, in union with his Bar-*Zaura*, marks the joint-migration of the adjoining tribes of Segestan, the *Casirotæ* or *Hazaurehs*, and the *Etymandri*, at a period indefinitely prior to the second century, from Segestan to the Helmund.* Instead, therefore, of weakening, a strict geographical inquiry authenticates Sir William Jones's "first argument," which is independently rendered probable on so many other grounds; while it altogether breaks down the counter-argument of his accomplished opponent.

Having thus prepared the way for the introduction of the passage in question from II. Esdras, by proving that the name *Asareth* has existed from time immemorial in Afghánistan or its neighbourhood, in the district of *Hazara*,

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* This two-fold emigration is marked by the two-fold nomenclature in the locality itself. The river is named the Etymander, the country, Hazara; clearly owing to the Etymandri giving their name to the one, and the Kasirotæ to the other. The denomination *Hazara* is widely spread over Afghánistan. The river of Cabul itself (the ancient Bidaspes) is, by D'Anville, styled "Behat ou *Hazaré*."

The denomination claims special notice and attention in its etymological bearing. The Arabic root هزر, *hazara*, signifies Expulit, proscripsit, abegit, *Expelling, proscribing, banishing:* and هزير, Expulsus, abactus, *Expelled, banished.* What more appropriate general name for *banished Israel?* It will presently be seen that a similar note of the Captivity existed, in Ptolemy's age, in another Israelite quarter and seat.

and people of *Kasirotæ* or *Hazaras*, this most remarkable passage can now, at length, for the first time, be submitted in full, with the advantage to which it is really entitled, to the judgment both of the scientific, and of the general reader. Its extraordinary corroboration of Sir George Rose's view of the miraculous baptism, by passing through divided waters, which Israel was ordained invariably to undergo, is an undesigned coincidence with prophecy and sacred history, of such moment as to stamp with the air of great historical authority the narrative in which it stands; while it supplies fresh confirmation, of a deeply interesting character, to the argument of that Right Honourable gentleman.

Account of the Migration and Settlement of the Ten Tribes.

"And whereas thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him; those are the TEN TRIBES, which were carried away prisoners out of their own land, in the time of Osea the king, whom Salmanasar, the king of Assyria, led away captive; and he carried them over the waters, and so came they into another land. But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further coun-

try, where never mankind dwelt. That they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land. And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river. For the Most High then shewed signs for them; *and held still the flood till they were passed over.* For, through that country, there was a great way to go, namely, of a year and a half; *and the same region is called* ASARETH. Then dwelt they there *until the latter time;* and now, when they shall begin to come, *the Highest shall stay the springs of the stream again, that they may go through:* therefore sawest thou the multitude with peace."—II. *Esdras*, xiii. 39—47.

VESTIGES OF THE LOST TRIBES IN OTHER QUARTERS OF THE EAST.

AFGHÁNISTAN, however, although to all appearance the chief seat, is not the only settlement of the lost Tribes in the East. Apart from any remains in their first settlements on the river Gozan, or in the adjoining cities, a remnant still appears to be left near Hamadan, in Media. Similar fragments, in all probability, may exist in other parts; while, according to the accounts given of themselves by the Jews in India, and

which, since the day of Dr. Claudius Buchanan, have been familiar to the English reader, an Israelite population forms the older part of the Jewish settlements in Cochin and Malabar.

The division of these Hebrew colonists, arising from physical discrepancy of countenance and colour, into "Black and White Jews," is now generally known. It is also known, that, while the White Jews deduce their origin from colonists, who fled thither from Jerusalem upon the destruction of the city and temple by Titus, the Black Jews claim descent from Israelites of the Captivity, placed in Malabar, originally, by Nebuchadnezzar. It is further known, that the Jews of Cochin, more especially the Black Jews, allege themselves to have possessed, and still, in part at least, to retain in their possession, records of their own history, and of the history of their nation, from the time of the Babylonish Captivity to a comparatively recent period.*

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* In the Cochin MS. (presently to be noticed) these documents are described as written, not in Hebrew, but in several Indian dialects, entitled there, "*The tongue of Al-Nadiz, The Cingali, The tongue of Malabar, and the Bisnagi*," i. e. the dialects which, after Hebrew had ceased to be their living language, had become native to the Jews of India. So with the Afghâns, the Pushtoo (apparently a Tartar idiom), so with the ancestors of both, the Israelites of the Captivity, the Chaldee, replaced the Hebrew. This is the true answer to all scepticism founded on change of dialect among the Beni Israeel of Afghânistan. The Jews of the Captivity had lost their Hebrew in seventy years. "Les versions Chaldaiques devénánt néces-

These reports, at length, awakened some interest at Calcutta; and gave rise to Dr. Buchanan's two visits to Cochin; who inquired into the circumstances on the spot, and was admitted to inspect some MS. remains. He has published the result of this inquiry and inspection. "The White Jews had only the Bible written on parchment, and of modern appearance, in their Synagogue; but I was informed that the Black Jews possessed, formerly, copies written on goat skins; and that in the Synagogue of the Black Jews, there was an old record chest, into which the decayed copies of the Scriptures had been thrown. I accordingly went to the Synagogue with a few of the chief men, and examined the contents; which some of them said they had never looked at before, and did not seem greatly to value. The MSS. were of various kinds, on parchment, *goat-skins*, and cotton paper."*

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saires dépuis la Captivité de Babylon; parceque les Juifs oublièrent alors leur langue, et ne parlèrent plus que le Chaldéen dans leurs synagogues. Après la lecture d'un verse de la Bible en hébreu, un interprète le traduisait sur-le-champ en Chaldéen, pour l'intelligence des assistants; mais comme il se trouvait très peu d'hommes en état de traduire assez-vite en public, on prit le parti d'écrire à loisir des versions en langue Chaldaique, pour la commodité des docteurs. De l'origine des *Targums*."— *Labouderie ap. Biogr. Univers.* art. *Jonathan ben Uzziel.*

We read this, and then wonder that the Afgháns, if Israelites, have exchanged the Hebrew for the Pushtoo in 2500 years!

* "Christian Researches," p. 215., 3rd ed., Edinb. 1812. The MSS. on goats' skins *dyed red*, are understood to be peculiar to the Black Jews, and

Dr. Buchanan's account of the Black and the White Jews of Malabar, is so essential a preliminary to this branch of the present subject, that I shall offer no apology for submitting it unabridged to the reader.

"Cochin, Feb. 4. 1807.

"I have been now in Cochin, or its vicinity, for upwards of two months, and have got well acquainted with the Jews. They do not live in the city of Cochin, but in a town about a mile distant from it, called Jews' Town. It is almost wholly inhabited by the Jews, who have two respectable Synagogues. Among them are some very respectable men, who are not ignorant of the present history of nations. There are, also, Jews here from remote parts of Asia; *so that this is the fountain of intelligence concerning that people in the East;* there being constant communication

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are said to have come from Cashmeer. In illustration of the antiquity of this usage, and, consequently, of that of the Jewish colony among whom such a usage still obtains, I would here notice a remark of my friend, the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, "that the Jews had the art of *dyeing the ram's skin red*, in the time of Moses." An ancient law of the Jewish Scribes directs the Law to be written on skins of clean animals; viz. sheep, *goats*, or calves. Dr. Kennicott quotes Wolfius, Bibliotheca Hebræa, 4. 97., for the fact, "that Moses Pereyra affirmed, that he had found MS. copies of the Hebrew text in Malabar; for that the Jews, having escaped from Titus, betook themselves to the Malabar coast, through Persia."—*Kennicott, 2nd. Dissert.*, p. 532., Oxford, 1759. See *Horne, Introd. to Study of H. Script.* vol. ii. pp. 90, 91; 6th edition, London, 1828.

by ships, with the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the mouths of the Indus.

"The resident Jews are divided into two classes, called the Jerusalem, or White Jews, and *the ancient*, or Black Jews. The white Jews reside at this place. The Black Jews have, also, a Synagogue here; *but the great body of that tribe* inhabit towns in the interior of the Province.

"I have now seen most of both classes. My inquiries referred, chiefly, to their antiquity, their MSS., and their sentiments concerning the present state of their nation.

"*The Jerusalem or White Jews.*

"On my inquiry into the antiquity of the White Jews, they first delivered to me a narrative, in the Hebrew language, of their arrival in India, *which has been handed down to them from their fathers;* and then exhibited *their ancient brass plate*, containing their Charter and freedom of residence, given by a king of Malabar. The following is the narrative of the events relating to their first arrival:—

"'After the Second Temple was destroyed, our fathers, dreading the conqueror's rage, departed from Jerusalem, a numerous body of men, women, Priests, and Levites, *and came into this land.*

There were among them men of repute for learning and wisdom; and God gave the people favour in the sight of the king who, at that time, reigned here; and he granted them a place to dwell in called Cranganore. He allowed them a patriarchal jurisdiction within the district, with certain privileges of nobility; and the royal grant was engraved, according to the custom of those days, *on a plate of brass.* This was done in the year from the creation of the world 4250 (A. D. 490.); *and this plate of brass we still have in possession.*

"'Our fathers continued at Cranganore for about a thousand years; and the number of Heads who governed were 72. Soon after our settlement, other Jews followed us from Judea; and, among these, came that man of great wisdom, Rabbi Samuel, a Levite of Jerusalem, with his son, Rabbi Jehuda Levita. They brought with them the silver trumpets, made use of at the time of the Jubilee, which were saved when the Second Temple was destroyed; and we have heard from our fathers, that there were engraven upon those trumpets the letters of the Ineffable Name.

"'There joined us, also, *from Spain*, and other places, from time to time, certain tribes of Jews, who had heard of our prosperity. But, at last,

discord arising among ourselves, one of our chiefs called to his assistance an Indian king, who came upon us with a great army, destroyed our houses, palaces, and strong-holds; dispossessed us of Cranganore, killed part of us, and carried part into captivity. By these massacres, we were reduced to a small number. Some of the exiles came and dwelt in Cochin, where we have remained ever since, suffering great changes from time to time.

"'*There are among us some of the children of Israel* (Beni Israel) *who came from the country of Askenaz*, from Egypt, from Isoba [*Zobe* in Afghánistan ?], and other places; BESIDES THOSE WHO FORMERLY INHABITED THIS COUNTRY.'

"The native annals of Malabar (proceeds Dr. Buchanan) confirm the foregoing account, in the principal circumstances, as do the Mahomedan histories of the later ages; for the Mahomedans have been settled here in great numbers, since the eighth century.

"I now requested they would show me their brass plate. Having been given by a native king, it is written, of course, in the Malabar language and characters, and is now so old that it cannot be well understood. The Jews preserve a Hebrew translation of it, which they presented to me: but the Hebrew itself is very difficult; and they do not agree among themselves as to

the meaning of some words. I have employed, by their permission, an engraver at Cochin to execute a fac-simile of the original Plate on copper.

"There is no date to this document, further than what may be collected from the reign of the Prince, and the names of the royal witnesses. Dates are not usual in old Malabaric writings. *One fact is evident, that the Jews must have existed a considerable time in the country, before they could have obtained such a grant.*

"*The Black Jews.*

"It is only necessary to look at the countenances of the Black Jews, to be satisfied *that their ancestors must have arrived in India, many ages before the White Jews.* Their Hindoo complexion, and their very imperfect resemblance to the European Jews, indicate *that they have been detached from the parent stock in Judea, many ages before the Jews in the West;* and that there have been *intermarriages with families not Israelitish.* I had heard that those Tribes, *which had passed the Indus*, have assimilated so much to the customs and habits of the countries where they live, that they may be sometimes seen by a traveller without being recognized as Jews. In the

interior towns of Malabar, I was not always able, to distinguish the Jew from the Hindoo.

"The White Jews look upon the Black Jews as an inferior race, and as not of a pure caste; which plainly demonstrates that they do not spring from a common stock in India.

"The Black Jews communicated to me much interesting intelligence, concerning their brethren, the ancient Israelites, in the East: traditional, indeed, in its nature; but, in general, illustrative of true history. They recounted the names of many other small colonies, resident *in Northern India, Tartary, and China;* and gave me a written list of sixty-five places. I conversed with those *who had lately visited many of these Stations*, and were about to return again. *The Jews have a never ceasing communication with each other in the East.* Their families, indeed, are generally stationary, being subject to despotic Princes; but the men move much about in a commercial capacity; and the same individual will pass through many extensive countries. So that, when anything interesting to the nation of the Jews takes place, the rumour will pass rapidly throughout all Asia." *

* "Christian Researches," pp. 198, 199.

Since Dr. Buchanan's day, the interest awakened by his Publication had been suffered gradually to subside; until it seems to have given place to a spirit of sceptical questioning, often too prevalent among our countrymen in India, both as to the alleged antiquity of the Jewish settlements in Malabar, and, still more, as to the title of the Black Jews to belong, in any sense, to the stock of Israel.* This spirit has, of late, been carried so far, as to represent the Jews of Malabar generally to be so lost in ignorance, as to know absolutely nothing of their own history; and to be altogether incapable of giving any credible account of themselves to others, from the total absence of written documents of any character or value, or rather from the total absence of historical documents of any kind.

In the face of such allegations, the right-minded reader will learn, with a surprise and pleasure equal to my own, the circumstances

* A better spirit, with juster views, is to be found in the publications of professed physiologists. Thus, in Pickering's "Races of Man," we meet the following fair notice of the Jews of Malabar: "There exists, on the coast of Malabar, a race of Jews, which is known by the name of 'White Jews;' and who, from documents in their possession, appear to have migrated to India soon after the destruction of the Temple by Titus; but who still resemble European Jews in features and complexion. The White Jews are at Mattacheri, a town of Cochin. On the Malabar coast, to which reference has just been made, is a second colony of Jews, perfectly black."— *T. C. Hall, M. D.* "*On the Animal Kingdom, and Unity of the Species,*" *ap. Pickering.*

which first led me to enter on the present inquiry, and which have laid open to me an entirely new field of research and investigation.

It is now about three years, since a clerical friend * placed in my hands two MS. Hebrew Rolls, newly brought from India by his brother-in-law, an officer in the Indian Navy.† Both manuscripts were specimens of exquisite calligraphy, executed, alike, upon the finest material. One of these Rolls was written on fair parchment, and consisted of twelve sheets (or forty-three pages): the other was written on red goat-skin, and contained six sheets (or twenty-three pages. For the honour of the Jews of Malabar, and the confusion of their gainsayers, I have to add, that both manuscripts came from the Jewish treasury at Cochin; and were presented to the Officer from whom my friend received them, by no other than the Jewish high priest.

Recovered from my first surprise, I examined the two manuscripts. The lesser Roll, that on dyed goat-skin (a MS. apparently of some antiquity) proved to be a copy of the Canonical Book of Esther. Its material showed it to have

* The Rev. J. M. Chapman, Rector of Tendring, formerly Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford.

† Captain Kirby, I. N.

been a manuscript of the Black Jews or Israelites. The larger Roll proved to be a History of the Jews of Cochin and Malabar, from the time of the Babylonian Captivity down to the successive settlements of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English, in Hindostan.

The red goat-skin Roll triumphantly vindicated the statements of Dr. Buchanan, respecting the MSS. in the possession of the Black Jews. The parchment Record opened a field of view, as prolonged and wide as it was new and interesting. This manuscript, indeed, made no pretensions to antiquity. It was obviously quite modern. And being modern, it completely refuted the charge that the Cochin Jews were wholly illiterate. The history which it contains, purports to be a compilation only; but a compilation drawn up from original sources, of the best authority, and the highest antiquity: namely, from records formerly deposited in the Treasury of Cochin, engraven upon brazen or copper Tablets, the most ancient of which dated from the era of Nebuchadnezzar himself; and which were continued in unbroken series, the elder in Hebrew, the later in the language and characters of Malabar; until, having escaped the bigotry of the Portuguese, the whole contents of the Treasury in these precious relics

were plundered by the Dutch, so recently as the year 1774, and carried away to be deposited in the Treasury of Amsterdam (of the Dutch India House?). The Dutch Governor (Muntz), the author of this spoliation, is visited with the reprobation due to such an outrage, in the Cochin Manuscript; which goes on, at the same time, to apprize its readers how the calamity was repaired. Upon due consultation among the Jews of Cochin, a deputation, composed of learned Rabbis, was formed, and sent to Amsterdam; for the purpose, on obtaining leave, of making transcripts of their copper Tablets, in order to compiling, from these, the history contained in the Cochin Roll. The object proposed by this Embassy, it is stated in the Manuscript, was fully accomplished. And its earliest history purports to be simply translations, not, indeed, of the original copper Tablets of the time of Nebuchadnezzar, which had long become illegible, for the most part, from the rust of time, but from translations in later copper Tablets, in the Malabaric idiom*; of those original Records.

* The use of *Tablets*, in Malabar, as the receptacula of their records receives curious confirmation from a carved wooden Tablet, now in my hands, and brought to England by Captain Kirby, together with the Rolls. It is an oval mural tablet, from a ruined mosque, of an early period. The inscription, which completely fills it, is in flourished characters, deeply and richly carved: most clearly legible, in one sense; but

Some of the particulars of this first period of the Captivity, are of an interest so new, and sometimes so appalling*, as to awaken, at once, the liveliest and the most painful emotions. But it was always to be remembered that these accounts, as we have them, are only Rabbinical; and that Rabbinical accounts, whether deservedly or undeservedly, are always taken, not with a grain only, but with a bushel of salt. Just or unjust, I could not quell this prejudice; or, could I quell it within my own mind, I could not quell it in the minds of others. In this difficulty, it struck me that one resource, and one resource only, remained: namely, to collate the historical

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(to me at least) perfectly illegible in another. The record, I presume, is in the Malabaric idiom, so often referred to in the Cochin Roll, under the title of "The tongue of Al-Nadiz." The characters resemble the Cufic, but are so flourished as to baffle ordinary skill.

The Arabic root نذص, *nadiz*, signifies *Exivit*, uti *una res ex alterâ*, "*Going forth, one from another.*" Can this "Tongue of Al-Nadiz" have reference to the Jewish colonists of Malabar, who went forth thither from another, and far-distant land? Can it be their *Patois* in a strange country?

* Thus, it is stated, that the Levites were persecuted more cruelly than any other of the Israelites. And as an example of this, and in explanation of the 139th Psalm, it is mentioned, that it was after ordering their fingers to be cut off, and thus rendering it impossible for the unhappy captives to use their harps, that Nebuchadnezzar and the ministers of his cruelty cried out in mockery, "Sing us one of the songs of Zion!" This is so like one of the refinements of Eastern tyranny, and so unlikely to be invented, that it seems to carry its own confirmation.

and geographical accounts of this Cochin history, with the history and geography of heathen, Mahometan, and Christian authorities. The thought once conceived, upon this course I, at once, determined. The results, now to be submitted in the following pages, were as satisfactory in themselves, as they were decisive in vindicating the much-traduced authority of Jewish history and tradition. Of this the reader will now become the judge.

SKETCH OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF THE COCHIN HEBREW ROLL.

In its narrative of events subsequent to the Captivity, this Jewish history draws a clear line of demarcation between the fortunes of the Israelites and those of the Jews. The tribes of Judah and Benjamin, it states, were dispersed abroad throughout all the nations of the earth: but the ten tribes, with exception of the colonies planted by Nebuchadnezzar (as will hereafter appear) in Southern India and Spain, remained fixed in their first seats along the river Sambatioun, until, in process of time, having increased and multiplied there, they migrated gradually, some in the direction of the Caspian, others beyond the borders of Media and Persia, appa-

rently eastward, in the direction of Chinese Tartary. The tribes of Simeon, Ephraim, and Manasseh, are represented to have settled on the Caspian, in the country of the Chozar Tartars*; where they became seated in the city or cities of a region named *Makhé*. In these, their new seats, the three Tribes in question became a formidable and ferocious Tartar nomade people; celebrated for the number and excellence of their horses; and dreaded for their prowess, not in regular, but in predatory warfare. In the language of Prophecy, realized in Tartar history, it is said of them, "One man could chase a thousand."†

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* ושבט שמעון וחצי שבט מנשה חונים בארץ כוזרים והם רבים עד אין חקר והם יקחו מס מן עשרים וחמשה מלכיות

And, again:

ושבט אפרים וחצי שבט מנשה חונים שם נגד מדינות מאחה והם זעומה נפש וקהווי לב והם בעלי סוסום כורתי דרכים ולא יחוסו על בני אדם ואין להם מם הרב כי אם שלל אויביהם והם גבורי מלחמה אחד ינצח אלף איש

† ויצא ונפל בשבט יששכר והם שופנים בהרי תחום מתחת ארץ מדי ופרש p. 33.

May not the Σαγαρτεοι, *Sagarti*, of Ptolemy, and his mount Ζαγρος, *Zagrus*, in Media, be denominations derived from the Tribe of Issachar? A city named Σαρακα, *Saraca*, lies near.

† Simeon, Ephraim, and Manasseh (to whom may be added Reuben and Zebulon, also noticed by Eldad), as thus described, exactly correspond in circumstances, character, and habits, with the Uzbeks, inhabiting the same regions of Tartary, as described by Mr. Elphinstone; and the correspondence accredits the Jewish account. "In Khwarizur, and the countries between Bokhara and the Caspian Sea, the wandering tribes greatly preponderate. They breed sheep, camels, and horses; and so numerous are the latter that there is scarcely a man in Toorkestaun so indigent as to

While the great tribe of Joseph, in both its branches, is stated to have thus established itself in these parts, that of Issachar, on the other hand, is represented to have wandered, apparently in a north-eastern direction, until it settled in the mountains of *Tokoos;* a region described as beyond the bounds, or as under the rule, of the Empire of the Medes and Persians. In this hill country, Issachar, like Ephraim and Manasseh, grew up into a great Tartar horde; only, instead of a warlike and predatory, they are described as a peaceful, pastoral people, well versed in the precepts of the Law of Moses; living upon the products of their numerous flocks and herds; and largely supplied with men-servants and maid-servants; so exemplary in their manners, that theft was unknown among them; and so pacific in their habits, that the butcher's knife was their only sword.

Now it is obvious to remark the singular and striking correspondence between the national character ascribed, by the Jews themselves, to the first-named three Israelitish Tribes, and the national

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walk on foot. As might be expected in such a people, the Uzbeks produce swarms of light cavalry, and are renowned for their exertions in predatory war."— P. 471. The names alone excepted, this is the very picture of the Tribes in question drawn by a Jewish writer. For whoever was the author, the description was written by a Jew.

character of the tribes of Afghánistan, indeed of the whole Afghán race. Its application to the *Eusof-zyes*, or "Tribe of Joseph," as already delineated, is above all remarkable.

But, however strong this national resemblance, not only does the Jewish account of those Israelite Tribes of the Captivity rest, for so far, wholly upon Rabbinical authority; but parts of it, at least, are derived from a source whose credibility has been assailed by all the learned of Europe from Bartolozzi down. The learned reader will, at once, anticipate the references, in the Cochin Roll, to the letter of Rabbi Eldad, the Danite, describing his pilgrimage in quest of his brethren, the lost Ten Tribes, for the purpose of visiting and preaching to them; and his discovery of their settlements among the Chozars, and in other parts of Tartary. By Bartolozzi and his successors, the account purporting to be given by this Eldad of his voyage and its results is considered so incredible, as to be beneath serious criticism. Not only has the age in which he lived (confessedly unknown) been variously conjectured*; but his voyage has been

* While some authorities bring down the date of Eldad and his pilgrimage as low as the 12th, and others carry it back to the 8th century, the real difficulty of the chronology has wholly escaped the conflicting critics themselves. The time in which Eldad flourished, if determinable

more than doubted*, and his very existence denied. His report, above all, of the prosperity and prowess of the wandering Israelites, is scoffed at by Bartolozzi† with a truly Papal rancour: it is the rancour of the Inquisition.

Yet, whether Eldad the Danite voyaged, or wrote, or lived at all, thus much is sure, that his report of the existence of a great Hebrew colony

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at all, must, it surely is clear, be determined by *his Genealogy*. This Genealogy, containg 38 generations from *Jacob*, would place Eldad, neither in the 12th century, nor in the 8th, but before the Christian era itself, about the time of Gamaliel! He is affirmed to have been of the lineage of *Aholiab*, in this degree of descent from Jacob. In the abstract there would be no incredibility in this. But where, at that period, was the Empire of the Chozar Tartars? I meddle no further with such "endless genealogies," than as they thus expose the shallowness and obtuseness of sciolists who would erect themselves into critics.

* The reality of the voyage has never yet been tested by the names of its geographical localities: yet one of the first localities mentioned supplies one striking verification, and conducts to more. Assuming, as may be assumed with good probability, the Gozan or Sambatioun to be the same with the river Cyrus, which flows into the Caspian, and near which stood Ptolemy's city of *Gauzania*, the shipwreck of Eldad and his companion occurred in that sea. When cast on shore, it is stated, that they landed among a people named אמרגום, *Amagum*. The name and site tally accurately with the Μαργίανη, *Margiana*, of Ptolemy, and his river Μάργος, *Margus*, the seat of the Μαργίανοι, *Margiani*, on the southern coast of the Caspian, adjoining the country of the Chozars. The people of Amargum are stated to be blacks; and Ebn Haukal makes the same statement respecting one branch of the Chozars.

† Itaque ultra hunc fluvium, quem Sabbationem esse volunt plerique Judæi, etiam hodie, in multitudine maxima Judæos ibi inhabitare. Reges habere præpotentes et alia futilia, ubi imaginatum est in supra narrata Epistola Eldadis Danitis videre est.—T. i. p. 120. (Conf. p. 115. for his exhaustion of the vocabulary of abuse. The Empires founded by the Afgháns are the death-blow to all such empty declamation.)

among the Chozar Tartars, is as certain as any historical fact in the annals of the world. By every kind of evidence it is ascertained, and by every class of author* it is admitted, that a large proportion of the Chozar Tartars were Jews or Israelites, professing the Jews' religion, and practising the rite of Circumcision. Nay, more than this, it is further and undeniably known, that the Royal Family, in this great Tartar tribe, were Jews†; that the Chagan or king of the

* As I am about to quote largely from one of the first scientific authorities of his time, the celebrated Ibn Haukal, it may be desirable to give the general reader some precognition of this great geographer. "HAUCAL, plus correctement *Haoucál* (ABOUL CACEM MOHAMMED BEN), nominé aussi *El Haoucaly*, voyageur et géographe Arabe, natif de Baghdâd, parcourut et décrivit, au milieu du IV^e^ siècle de l'Hegire (X^e^ de l'ère vulg.), toutes les possessions des Musulmans en Asie, en Europe, et en Afrique. Il commença ses voyages en partant de Baghdâd, le jeudi 7 de Ramadhân, 331 (Mai 943 de J. C.). Il était alors dans toute la force, et l'effervescence de la jeunesse; ce voyageur a parcouru les terres et les mers. Son ouvrage entier est intitulé *Kétâb âl Méçâlék ou él Mémâlék, &c.* Ce titre, quoique prolixe, et même ambitieux, est pleinement justifié par le contenu de l'ouvrage. Nous n'en connaissons pas de ce genre, sans excepter même la *Géographie d'Aboul-Fédâ*, dans la quelle il est fréquemment cité, qui renferme autant de faits neufs, importans, et *d'une incontestable authenticité;* puisque l'auteur raconte, presque toujours, *ce qu'il a vu*, ou, au moins, ne parle qu'après de bonnes autorités."— *Biographie Universelle*, art. *Ibn Haukal.*

† ذكر درياي خزر, *Of the Sea of Khosr* (*Chozar*) *or the Caspian*, After one passes موكان, *Moukan*, to دربند, *Derbend*, for two days' journey the country is شروان, *Shirwan;* from that to سمندر, *Seminder*, fourteen days' journey; and from Seminder to اتل, *Atel.* This Atel is a certain river, which comes from روس, *Rous*, and بلغار, *Bulgur*,

Chozars was always chosen, by birth or election, from this Jewish stock; and that, however other offices of honour might be open to the nation generally, Jewish, Christian, and Mahometan, a

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One half of this river belongs to the western side, the other to the eastern. The sovereign of Atel resides on the western side: he is styled King, and surnamed بـــال, *Baul*. Here are many tents; and in this country there are but a few edifices of clay, such as bazars (market-places) and bathing-houses. In these territories are about ten thousand Mussulmans. The king's habitation is at a distance from the shore, it is constructed of burnt bricks; and this is the only building of such materials in all the country: they will not allow anybody but the king to erect such a dwelling.

"The city of Atel has four gates. One of those gates faces the river; another looks towards Iran, in the direction of the desert. *The king of this country is a Jew;* he has in his train four thousand Mussulmans, and خزري, *Khozârs* (Christian Chozars), and Idolaters; *but his principal people are Jews.* And this king has twelve thousand soldiers in his service, of whom, when one dies, another person is immediately chosen into his place; and they have no other commander but him. And this king has under him nine magistrates, or judges (قاضي, *Cadhis*): these are Mussulmans, Jews, Christians, and Idolaters. The smallest in number of the inhabitants of this country are the Jews; the greatest in number are the Mussulmans and Christians: *but the king and his chief officers are Jews.* There are magistrates of each religion; and when they sit in the tribunal of justice, they are obliged to report to the king all that passes, and to bring back his answer and opinion, and to put his sentence into execution. The principal persons of Atel are Mussulmans and merchants: *their language is like that of the Turks* (ترک *or Tartars*), and is not understood by any other nation.

"In خزر, *Khozar*, there is a certain city called سميد, *Asméd*.—In this town are many Mussulmans.—*The king is a Jew*, in friendship with the Padshah (*or Jewish king*) of Khozar, and on good terms with the Padshah of سرير, Serir.—"*The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal*," *Sir William Ouseley's Translation*, pp. 183—187.

mixed population as they were, none save a Jew of the Royal House could ascend the golden throne of the Chozars. So unalterable was this rule, that (as Ebn Haukal informs us in the tenth century), on the death of the Khan, a Jewish mendicant would be taken from the market-place to succeed him, if he happened to be of the Royal Family, and to be next of kin.*

Now, it is not more certain that Rome was not built in a day, than that this state of things could have arisen only in the long lapse of ages. In other words, the Jews or Israelites of the Captivity, every where a proscribed and persecuted race, must have long, very long, lived, and prospered, and acquired power among the Chozars, prior to their becoming, thus, their hereditary Rulers. That they did so become,

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* "The king [of the Chozars] is styled خـاقـان خزر, *Khacan of Khozr*. So absolute is the authority of this sovereign, and so implicitly are his commands obeyed, that if it seemed expedient to him that one of his nobles should die, and if he said to him, "Go and kill yourself," the man would immediately go to his house, and kill himself accordingly. The succession to the Khacanship being thus established in the same family; when the turn of the inheritance arrives to any individual of it, he is confirmed in the dignity, though he possess not a single dirhem. And I have heard from persons worthy of belief, that a certain young man used to sit in a little shop, at the public market-place, selling petty articles; and that the people used to say, 'When the present Khacan shall have departed, this man will succeed to the throne.' But the young man was a Mussulman, AND THEY GIVE THE KHACANSHIP ONLY TO JEWS."—*Ib.* pp. 188—190.

we learn, alike from their own *Sephor Cosri*, or *Book of Cosri*, and from the Travels of the great Arab Geographer, Ebn Haukal. This one historical fact, not only rivals, but far surpasses any thing advanced in the letter ascribed to Eldad: but Eldad was a Jewish Rabbi, and therefore his account is rejected; Ebn Haukal was a Mussulman and a man of science, and therefore his account is received.

From the sixth to the tenth century, the Chozars were the lords of central Asia. "The power of the Chozars (says Mr. Gibbon) prevailed in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. They were known to the Greeks, the Arabs, and, under the name of *Kosa*, to the Chinese themselves." Their alliance was courted, and their hostility dreaded, by the rival Empires of Rome and Persia. Such is the people of whom we learn so early as the tenth century, that, from time immemorial, their sovereigns had been Jews. This one historical fact carries back the Hebrew colonization of their country far towards the era of the Babylonish Captivity for its explanation.

On first reading the narrative of the Cochin Manuscript, I did not, however, recall, or so much as mentally advert to, these historical evidences. I reflected only that the account was

Rabbinical; and that its authority could be established, only by wholly independent historical or geographical proofs. I resolved, therefore, to test its Israelite topography and nomenclature, by collation with the topography and nomenclature of Ptolemy.

The first point to be determined was the existence, and the site, of the famed Rabbinical river, the *Sambatioun*. This river, so celebrated in the writings of the Rabbins, had, because said by them to flow through the land of *Cush*, been transported, by their Christian commentators, to Ethiopia, or Abyssinia, and preposterously confounded with the Nile. This monstrous transposition (the offspring, be it observed, of the ignorance, not of the Rabbins, but of their censors) afforded, of course, ample scope for ridicule and raillery. I was too well aware, however, that, by the land of Cush, Scripture and the Jews understand, not Ethiopia, but *Chuzistan*, to be at all misled in the matter. I resolved, at once, to consult the *Media* of Ptolemy; on the bare possibility of discovering there any trace of the name *Sambatioun*. The reader, probably, will share my pleasure and surprise, when the very first name, in Ptolemy's Vth. Table, of a people on the confines of Media beyond the Euphrates and Tigris, was that of the Σαμβάτοι, or SAM-

BATÆ. The Sambatioun of the Jews, it followed, was simply the Gozan* of Scripture, and very probably, as already suggested, the same with the Cyrus, a river of Media, running north, into the Caspian.†

From this first verification, I passed forthwith to Ptolemy's land of the Chomari, or sons of Gomar, the country of the Chozars, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, in quest of possible

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* Ptolemy has the city of Γαυζανία, *Gauzania*, in Media, near the river Cyrus, towards the Caspian. This may be the *Gozan* of Scripture. If so, the river Gozan, or Sambatioun, flowed north into the Caspian. THEBARGA, on Mount *Zagros*, may possibly, be the Scriptural Habor. It lies close to the *Sambatæ*.

Supposing the river near Ptolemy's Gauzania to be the Sambatioun, its course tallies with that of Eldad's alleged journey and voyage, which was certainly in the direction of the Caspian.

Thebura, in the country of Ptolemy's Sambatæ, the central seat of the Ten Tribes, may (perhaps preferably to Thebarga) be *Habor*, and *Thelbe*, on the Tigris, *Haleb*. The only clear coincidence, however, is *Gauzania* for *Gozan*.

The identity of the Sambatioun with "the river Gozan," is affirmed by the Jews themselves. Thus, R. Moses, quoted by R. Elias, in his Treatise called Tisbi, has these words, "כי הוא נהר גוזן *Chi hù nehàr Chozan*. Quoniam ipsa (Sambation) èst flumen Gozan."— *R. Elias, ap. Bartolocc., Biblioth. Magn. Rabb.* tom. i. p. 120. Bartolocci adds the confession, *Solum unum*, Abrahamum Peritzolum, adinveni, qui Sambationam fluvium distinguit à Gozan.

† The Targum on the Pentateuch, ascribed by the Jews to Jonathan Ben Uzziel, contains a passage which, were its authority less doubtful, would tend to identify the Sambatioun with the Cyrus:

אעביד להון פרישן בזמן דיהכון בשביתא על נהרות בבל ואסלקנון מתמן
ושרנון מן לניו לנהר סמבטיון.

"Faciam miracula ipsis (Israëlitis) tempore quo abibunt in captivitatem ultra flumina Babyloniæ, et *ascensus eos faciam inde*, et commorari faciam ultra fluvium Sambation."— *Ap. Bartoloc.* tom. i. p. 116.

traces of the lost Tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. When almost the first name that met my eye, was that of *Tos-Manassa*, τοσ-Μουανασσα*, "The far-banished Manasseh." Following up this most unexpected restoration, I observed, far north of his Tos-Mannassa, a people styled by Ptolemy the *Macha-geni*, or people of *Macha;* being the very name given, in the voyage of Eldad, as the seat of the three lost Tribes of Simeon, Ephraim, and Manasseh. And, on a river which flows from the mountains of the Macha-geni, I next found, in D'Anville, a fresh and clear mark of Israelite colonization in the city or town of *Ashor* (the seat, seemingly, of the *Aorsî* of Ptolemy), preserving, to this day, the name of a fourth Israelite Tribe. The names of *Esther*, and *Esther-abad*, the river and city of *Esther*, in the Province bearing the same Iraelite name, supply fresh land-marks, in D'Anville, of Hebrew colonization. While all these marks receive light and confirmation from the unquestionable fact, that we are here walking in the foot-marks of a known Hebrew population: the Jewish, or Israelitish portion of the Chozar Tartars.†

* The Palatine MS., missing the proper name, undertakes to paraphrase: the attempt, indeed, explains the ignotum per ignôtius: "Pal. addit, Εὐοδόμου ἄνασσα," *The queen of fragrance!*

† After these verifications, it may be hoped that the attempts of Bartolozzi, altogether to nullify Jewish tradition, by making the very

By vestiges so unhoped-for of the footsteps of banished Israel, on the very lines of route indicated in the letter ascribed to Eldad, I was led to hope and look for more light from Ptolemy. Yet, this feeling notwithstanding, as the eye swept on his Tables over the steppes of Tartary, in search of Eldad's Tribe of Issachar, it seemed scarcely possible to realize the idea to the mind, that Issachar as well as Manasseh might be here forthcoming. Forthcoming, however, this name, also, was; and in a mountain region of Tartary, in literal conformity with the character of the seat assigned in Eldad's letter to Issachar, "the mountains of Tocous, under or beyond the boundaries of the Medes and Persians." If the description was undefined, so was the vast region to which it apparently referred; wastes where distance seems annihilated, and over which the wandering hordes of warrior shepherds rove, almost without note of space. Accordingly, it was in Eastern Tartary, on the confines of China, that my geographical research was rewarded

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name *Sambatioun* a mere invention of the Talmudists (hujus autem fluminis nomen, iidem Talmudistæ *primò excogitarunt*), and by tracing it preposterously to the *flumen Sabbaticum* of Josephus in Phœnicia for its origin and site,—will find their proper level. If the Talmudists and Rabbins abound in idle figments, so, too often, do their indiscriminating censors. The first thought of true criticism is the last thought of criticism falsely so called, viz. the idea of separating the wheat from the chaff.

by the discovery, in the eighth Table of Ptolemy's Asia, of his mountains of Θαγουρ or Ισαγουρ, *Thagur* or *Isagur*, and his Ιθαγουροι or Ισαγουροι, The *Ithaguri* or *Isaguri*, their inhabitants.

Here, so far as the nomenclature was concerned, unquestionably stood revealed the lost Tribe of Issachar, and on a mountain range, moreover, exactly as its seat is represented in the much-questioned letter of Eldad. The letter may still be questioned, but the geographical fact cannot be denied. The Isaguri were there seated, in the age of Ptolemy, upon mountains called after their own name. And, if identity of name be evidence at all for the identity of nations, the *Isaguri* of Ptolemy are the *Issachar* of Scripture. But when, from this commencement of the restoration of the Israelitish name and tribe, in Eastern Tartary, we descend, with Ptolemy, southward, to the banks of the Indus; and find the name of Issachar re-appear on the Indus, in his city of *Isagurus*, and this city (now Ashnagor) seated in the country of the great Afghán Tribe of the *Eusof-zye*, or "Tribe of Joseph," the evidences accumulate in a way explicable only on the one rational ground, namely, that, in Ptolemy's Isaguri and Isagurus, we indeed recover the lost Tribe of Issachar; and, in the

country of Afghánistan, the chief seat of the Ten lost Tribes.

The whole chain of proof thus meets and combines at this given point, from the most far-removed quarters. We find, in the heathen geographer, clear names of Israelite Tribes, on the one hand, on the borders of the Caspian Sea; on the other hand, in the mountains of Chinese Tartary. We find the Jewish accounts, quite independently bearing their witness to the migration and settlement of the very Tribes named by Ptolemy, in those very parts; a witness which here, at least, stands confirmed by geographical evidences, which scepticism itself can neither evade nor deny. We find the national character of those wandering Israelites (long become Tartar hordes), correspondingly delineated, in the accounts of the Jews, and in the history of the Chozars. And we find the very national character, as there described, in all its characteristics, its restlessness, its turbulence, its roving propensities, its insatiable appetite for war and plunder, re-appear, in all its life and reality, in that of the whole Afghán nation: a people naming themselves "Beni-Israeel," and universally claiming to be the descendants of the lost Ten Tribes: the nomenclature of these Tribes and districts, both in ancient geography,

and at the present day, confirming this universal national tradition.* Lastly, we have the route of the Israelites, from Media to Afghánistan†

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* According to Sir George Rose, this tradition is sustained by one mark of Israelite origin, which, once ascertained to have always existed among the Afghán tribes, is alone, taken together with their national tradition, decisive of the whole question: the practice among them, I mean, *before the introduction of Mahometanism*, of the rite of circumcision. "Devoted as the Hebrews were, from the earliest period of their existence as a nation, to the worship of idols, to what other influence but that of Heaven can it be attributed that, ever since that event, they have been effectually preserved from it? Again, as before stated, they would have renounced their title-deed to the land of promise, if they had forsaken the rite of circumcision. Now, it is very difficult to resist the conviction, that it is under the governance of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that the Afghan, although in a semi-barbarous state, has for 2500 years retained qualifications, essential to his restoration to the land of his fathers. During his imprisonment, he has been withheld from idolatry, and has never abandoned circumcision, for he changed the law of Moses for that of the Koran; thus affording a very strong confirmation of the view, that he is the Ephraim of prophecy."— *The Afghans the Ten Tribes*, pp. 74, 75.

I repeat it, that, if both these allegations, but above all, if the second, be so, and the two facts alleged be capable of fair proof, there is an end to all rational doubt that the Afgháns are the lost Israelites.

† From Mr. Elphinstone we learn that one chief Afghán tribe, the Eusof-zyes, state themselves to have come from the West. I will now adduce proof from Ibn-Haukal, in the tenth century, that another great tribe, the Ghiljies, were then known to have migrated into Afghánistan from Tartary; and hence, naturally were supposed to be of Tartar race.

"The Khiljians are of a Turkish (ترکان, Tartar) race, who, in *ancient times*, settled in this country, between Hindostan and the borders of Sejestan. They resemble the Turks or Tartars, in personal appearance, and retain the dress and customs of that nation; and all speak the Turkish language."— *Ouseley's Ebn Haukal*, p. 247.

This passage is of great importance in the evidences. It throws light upon the origin of the Afghán nation; and carries their migration back to a period far more remote than it has been traced to by Mr. El-

and India, marked out by a series of intermediate Stations, bearing the names of several of their Tribes, and clearly indicating the stages of their long and arduous journey.

As the spirit of scepticism, however, is always abroad in the world, the length and difficulty of such a journey may, and, unless anticipated, very probably will, be brought forward as an objection. I shall anticipate it, therefore, here, in the words of Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone. Speaking of the Eusof-zyes, or "Tribe of Joseph," he observes, "Most of them have heard that *their origin is from the West*, though few possess any knowledge of the original residence, and former fortunes of their tribe." * However imperfect (as in the case of all savage tribes) their knowledge of their former seats or fortunes, this Eusof-zye tradition perfectly agrees

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phinstone. In the tenth century, Ibn Haukal could affirm that they had been seated in Afghánistan from "ancient times." In proof, moreover, of their Tartar origin, he states their language, the Pushtoo, to be a Tartar dialect. Now, all this tallies with the case of the Israelites, migrating gradually, as their own history represents them to have done, from Media, through Tartary, into Afghánistan and Hindostan. The facts of the case thus account for the phenomena. As Mr. Elphinstone himself well puts it: "It is known that ten of the twelve tribes remained in the East, after the return of their brethren to Judea; and the supposition that the Afghauns are their descendants, explains, easily and naturally, both the disappearance of the one people, and the origin of the other."—P. 155.

* Page 376.

with the Jewish account, already noticed, that the *Tribe of Ephraim* first migrated from Media to the Caspian; whence their route would obviously be from the *westward*, to reach Afghánistan and the Indus. This is approximation only: but Mr. Elphinstone's next statement comes home to the point at issue; showing that the very journey ascribed to the Israelites, *has* actually been made, in recent times, by one of the Afghán tribes, the Meeaun-khail. "The Meeaun-khail are about three thousand families; of which number, a fourth is composed of Baukhteeaurees. Of this tribe, which is said to *to have come, originally, from the banks of the Tigris*, and which is very numerous in the south-west of Persia, there are about seven or eight hundred families at Deraubund, and about five hundred at Murgha."

It is useless to discuss any question of evidences, with those whom such a combination of evidences as the foregoing fails to convince. On the point last noticed, I would only observe, that, if the Afghán tribes, generally, be Beni-Israeel, the Meeaun-khail, of course, are so also: In them, consequently, we have existing proof of an Israelite population, to this day, inhabiting the banks of the Tigris, or its tributaries, the primitive seats of the Children of the Captivity;

and living exemplification, at the same time, of Israelites performing, direct, the same journey, which was performed by their forefathers, slowly and circuitously, probably two thousand five hundred years ago.

REMAINS OF ISRAELITE AND JEWISH SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

The Manuscript History in the Cochin Roll, to which we now return, purporting, mainly, to be an historical account of two distinct Hebrew races, the Black Jews and the White Jews of Malabar, contains large details concerning the origin and progress of the Hebrew colonization, in that part of Southern India. The History itself purports to be compiled, chiefly, from Copper Tablets, embedded in the walls, or preserved in the Jewish Treasury, at Cochin. Of these Remains, some, long almost illegible, are said to date from the era of Nebuchadnezzar and the Captivity. The others are referred to different periods, descending as low as the eighth Century. The later of these Copper Tablets are stated to have been, not in Hebrew, but in the idiom of Malabar. It is further affirmed, that translations of the older Records were made into the Malabaric. The whole, or most at least, of

these original documents, are alleged to have been carried off by the Dutch, and deposited in the India-House at Amsterdam.

According to the Cochin Manuscript, compiled from those Records, the first colony of the Israelites, or Black Jews, was planted in Malâbar by Nebuchadnezzar. The first Colony of the White Jews was founded by refugees from Jerusalem, immediately after the destruction of the City, and the Second Temple, by Titus. These original colonies were largely reinforced, from age to age, by a succession of Hebrew migrations*; until the chief towns of Malabar were filled to overflowing with a Hebrew population; and the Jews became lords paramount of the country under the kings of Ceylon. In the height of their power and prosperity, the city of Cochin alone is alleged to have contained within its walls, eighty thousand heads of families, and forty thousand houses.

Their time of prosperity was followed by times of trouble. Like aged trees, to use their own affecting similitude, they felt, more and

* An Israelite migration of no fewer than eighty thousand souls, from "the cities of the Medes," or from Media, to Malabar, A. D. 369, is stated in the Cochin Roll as follows:

בשנת שסט לנתרים הגיעו לארץ מלבר שמונים אלף נפשות ישראלים
באו ממלכות מיודאנה שהיו אסורים במדינות.

more, the touch of decay at the roots. Internal dissentions opened the door for foreign invasion. The Jews of Malabar became the prey of an Hindoo Conqueror. Wholesale massacres abridged the Jewish population. And they had wholly fallen from their once high estate, ere the Portuguese visited India. By the successive persecutions of the bigoted Portuguese, and of the grasping Hollanders, they were, in course of time, so much further reduced, as to have dwindled down into their present fewness, poverty, and insignificance. Such is the outline of their story in the Cochin Roll.

The singular phenomenon of two distinct races on the same spot, alike, professedly, of the Hebrew stock, but altogether differing in countenance and colour, has naturally called for inquiry, and given rise to speculation. By Dr. Buchanan and others, the physical contrast, in the case of the Black Jews, has been thought sufficiently accounted for by the lapse of time, and the influence of climate. By more recent observers, the causes assigned have been judged inadequate to the effects observable. Some, even very recently, have gone so far as to consider the physical contrast irreconcileable with the idea of a common origin; and to pronounce the Black Jews a wholly different race, and to be

Israelites only by adoption or falsification. Altogether to remove such negative objections, it is only needful to show, that similar physical contrasts, in tribes of common origin, living in the same locality, are to be met with elsewhere; and that other, and more powerful causes than those assigned by Dr. Buchanan, may exist, fully to account for any amount of physical change or contrast.

THE BLACK JEWS.

To begin with the country of the Chozar Tartars, to which the Israelites, with certainty, are now known to have migrated, and from whence it has been clearly shown they *must* have passed into Afghánistan and India, it is expressly stated, by Ibn Haukal, himself an eye-witness of the fact, that there were two distinct branches or castes of the Chozars, the one *White* and the other *Black*.* Now here, in a region colonized

* "The people of Khozr are near the Turks (ترکس), whom they resemble. *They are of two classes: one of blackish complexion*, and such dark hair, *that you would suppose them to be descended from the Hindoos*; the other race, fair complexioned; these sell their children; but is it not allowed *among the Jews* and the Christians, to sell or make one another slaves."— *Ouseley's Ebn Haukal*, p. 188.

From this passage, not only do we learn that one branch of the Chozars were *black*, and another *white*; but we gather the decisive fact,

by Israelite Tribes, is the very same phenomenon which is found, at the present day, in the Black Jews, and White Jews, of Malabar.

Mr. Elphinstone's Work supplies a fresh example, of the same character and contrast, in a case still more nearly in point, that of one of the tribes of Afghánistan, the Naussers. "In their persons, they are small, *black**, and ugly. We find the Naussers enjoying the same liberty with most of the other Afghauns." That the Naussers are Afgháns, and therefore, like the Black Jews, claim to be Beni Israeel, may safely be rested on their own strenuous assertions. The contrast in countenance and colour is the only difficulty; a difficulty certainly not to be set in the balance against the national tradition of any tribe of Afghán race, although Mr. Elphinstone himself has not escaped its influence upon his judgment; observing that *though they speak Pushtoo*, and *strenuously maintain their descent from the Af-*

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that the Chozar *Jews* were of *the black stock*; as plainly follows from the circumstance of the white Chozars, and they alone, selling their children; consequently, the Jews who did not sell their children, were of the black race. But this race, Ebn Haukal tells us, exactly resembled *the Hindoos*. Have we not here the *souche* of the Black Jews of Malabar?

* "The Khyberees, of decidedly Jewish features, and undoubted Afghán race, appear, as well as the Naussers, to differ, in complexion, from the other Afgháns: "The Khyberees are lean, but muscular men, with long gaunt faces, high noses and cheek-bones, and *black* complexions."— *Elphinstone*, p. 357.

ghauns, their features and appearance certainly indicate a race distinct from that nation." *

But whatever changes time and climate conjoined may produce in national physiognomy, there is another cause of change, far more powerful than both, which, in the present question, has been strangely overlooked: I mean, *intermarriages with other races*. Now, we know, from the Book of Nehemiah; that such foreign alliances were not unusual among the Jews after the Captivity. And as Manasseh had become a Tartar horde, seated, as we have seen, in the country of the Chozars, it may justly be inferred that they indulged in a similar latitude; intermarrying with their female slaves, or contracting marriages with the *black* Chozars mentioned by Ebn Haukal. The subject at large, and the point in hand, receive curious light from a single expression in the Cochin Manuscript; whence it would appear both that the Tribe of Manasseh had become tawny or black; and that this Tribe had settled in Malabar, and were the true ancestors of the Black Jews. The expression in question is מיחומי מנשה, *The tanned, or sun-blacked Manasseh.* It is introduced in connection with those most

* Elphinstone, p. 460, 461.

ancient Jewish Records, which are said to date from the time of Nebuchadnezzar; and which were spoken of as belonging to the sun-blacked tribe of Manasseh, אך אומר מיחומי מנשה. In this one allusion, we have the parentage of the Black Jews. Is it not possible, that the *black Naussers* of Elphinstone may be the same stock, and that the name *Nausser* itself may be the corruption only, of their patronymic, Ma*nasseh?* Without attaching undue weight to this conjecture, I venture to throw it out, in the hope that the attention of eye-witnesses may be called to the degree of international resemblance between the roving Naussers of Afghánistan and the Black Jews of Malabar.

In the course of my first examination of the contents of the Cochin Roll, I was taken altogether by surprise, by its sudden and unexpected transition from the story of the migrations and settlements of the Children of the Captivity in the East, to that of the contemporaneous migrations and settlements of their brethren in Europe. However familiar to others, it was to me a new and strange thought, that the Conquests of Nebuchadnezzar thus embraced opposite quarters of the globe. The Cochin Jewish History, however, affirmed this as a fact; and I turned to the lights of European research

to confirm or confute it. I was not long in discovering the proper sources of information. The brilliant historical episode of Court Gebelin in the eighth volume of his ponderous etymological work, entitled MONDE PRIMITIF*, at once, opened and exhausted the subject. By a most happy concurrence and combination of evidences, it is there made to appear, that Nebuchadnezzar, while his army lay before Tyre (a siege surpassing in duration even that of Troy, for it is said to have lasted for thirteen years), sent forth expeditions by sea and land, to sweep the Phœnician colonies along the coast of Africa, and to conquer and crush their remotest settlements in Spain. The historical fact is attested by the obvious policy of such a measure: it was the part of every conqueror to weaken a commercial power at the extremities, while he struck himself at the heart. The transaction, noticed incidentally by Strabo, and discussed critically by Court Gebelin, is related simply and historically in the Cochin Manuscript. According to this Record, Nebuchadnezzar, from before Tyre, sent a fleet and army, along the Phœnician settlements in Africa, to Spain, under the

* "Un des mourçeaux les plus saillants, est l'Histoire de Nabuchodonosor."— *Biographie Univer.*

command of one of his generals, an Ionian Prince, named Firouz or Pyrrhus. With this expedition he embarked, with their own consent, not as captives but as emigrants, a large body of Jews and Israelites, of the Tribes of Judah and Benjamin, of Simeon and the Levites; for the purpose of settling them in the south of Spain*; obviously with maritime and commercial views. Now, this statement, so far, is Jewish history only; and is to be treated with the reserve attaching, by general consent of the learned, to every thing considered Rabbinical.

Fortunately, however, for the interests of truth, the Cochin History proceeds to deal with alleged facts, which admit of being brought to a matter-of-fact test and issue. It states particulars, and gives the names of places and localities, Jewish names affirmed to have been given by Jews, which can, at once, be passed through the ordeal of geographical examination. It relates that the four Tribes above mentioned, after a tempestuous passage across the Mediterranean

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* פירוש שהיה נם כן משרי יון והוא היה בחרבן בית הראשון והביא משם בני יהודא ומבניאמין ומשמעון ומהלווים והכהנים אשר היו בירושלים עם רב שבא עמו ברצונם ויביאם בדרך הים באניות למלכות ספרד וישיבום בשני מחוזות האחד הנקרא נם היום אנדא־לוזיאה עיר ארזת שהיה בימים ההם עיר ואם בישראל:—*Cochin Roll*, p. 25
וישבו היהודים במלכות ספרד מהיום ההוא ועד עתה:—*Ib.*

(a passage of which, in the early ages of navigation, Saint Paul's voyage, so many centuries after, will give the just idea), were landed in Spain, in the Province of Andalusia, and sent inland up the country. It further states that they founded, in the interior, four cities. The first of these cities they named *Luz*-ica (now *Lusina*, on the Tagus), after *Luz*, in the land of Israel. The next and chief city (the ancient capital of New Castille) they denominated *Toletua* (Toledo), from the Hebrew term תולתלה, *tultule*, in commemoration of the pitching and tossing which they had endured in their transit. The other two cities, both adjacent to Toledo, they named *Makedda* and *Ascalon*, after *Makedda*, in the land of Israel, and *Ascalon*, on the border of the Philistines.* I was in the act of reading, for the first time, these statements, with intense interest, but suspended judgment, when an intelligent friend happened to come in. I read to him the Jewish account. He asked, Have you collated it with the map of Spain? I answered in the negative, for I had not yet had time to do so;

* והמחון השני היה בארץ טוליטוא וידמה שהיודים קרוא שם העיר טוליטוא על שם הטולטול שעשו בבאום מירושלים שמה היה מקדם אצל הנוצרים יפיריזולה לא טוליטולא שקרואה היודים הבאים אליה וכן חשוב שקראו עיר אחרת סמוכה לטוליטולא מאקידא על שם העיר מאקידא שהיה בארץ ישראל ולעיר אחרת סמוכה לטוליטולא קראו אשקלון אצל שם אשיקלון שהיה קרובה לארץ ישראל. — *Cochin Roll*, p. 26.

adding, There is D'Anville's Atlas, look into it while I read on. He did so; and having at once found Toledo, in the next moment, laid his hand, successively, upon two adjoining towns, and read out their Israelitish names, namely, *Maqueda* and *Escalona*.* It was difficult to realize to ourselves; it is impossible to realize to others, our mutual surprise and satisfaction. There stood the cities, with their Scriptural names, whose origin, doubtless, was wholly unknown to the Spaniards themselves; but whose origin, and whose existence, were at once, and for the first time, made known to

* The proof from the internal evidence, here, arising from the names of the localities alone, is of the strongest character: it amounts to the conclusion, that the cities of *Maqueda* and *Escalona* must have been built by the Jews, and at or about the period stated in the Cochin Roll. It is self-evident that neither the Christian, nor the Moslem rulers of Spain, before or after the era of the Hejra, would have suffered the hated and persecuted Jews of Spain to build and call cities "after their own names." The attempt would infallibly have drawn down the heaviest penalties. Toletola (*or* Toledo), Maqueda, Escalona, Luzica, *must*, therefore, have arisen at a period when no such obstacles existed. But such a period *must have been prior to Christianity itself in Spain*, i. e. to the Christian era. This conclusion relands us in the account of those cities of Spain, of their foundation and nomenclature, as preserved in Jewish history; professedly, from the time of the Captivity, and the original Israelitish emigrations.

It has been acutely remarked upon the etymology of *Toledo* or *Toletola* from the Hebrew טולטול, that this Hebrew name, still the Spanish name, argues Jewish founders. Jews only were likely to have given it; and the storm-tossed Jewish emigrants themselves alone could originate such a name, or transmit to posterity its singularly enigmatic meaning.

had just been reading. It was impossible to resist evidence like this: it was overwhelming. The question, How came the Jewish names of Ascalon and Makedda into catholic Spain, the ourselves, by the Jewish history in which I had land of bigotry and persecution? is one that must arise. Its only rational explanation is, that it must have been given by the Jews, before either Christians or Mahometans had power there. And this, the only rational explanation, is the very explanation given in the Cochin History.

It was not until after this discovery, from a Jewish history, and its geographical verifications, had been made, that my attention was called to a note in Southey's "Roderic," which records the wholly independent corroboration, that, when Alphonso VI. recovered Toledo from the Saracens, he was appealed to by its Jewish population, on the ground that they were not the descendants of the murderers of his Christ, but of the Ten Tribes, whom Nebuchadnezzar had sent thither as colonists. The appeal was answered graciously; and the transaction ordered by the king to be enrolled in the archives of Toledo. The predominance, from time immemorial, of a Jewish population in Spain, is matter of history, Mahometan as well

as Christian. The question, How they came by this predominance? is one which must be asked, and which cannot, without the discovery of some unknown cause, easily be answered. The cause, as assigned by Jewish history and tradition, removes all difficulties. A Hebrew colony, planted by Nebuchadnezzar, held footing in the Peninsula, before Carthaginian or Roman, Vandal or Visigoth, Christian or Mussulman, had any footing there. Toledo is known as, perhaps, the most ancient city of Spain: "Are you aware (asked our first authority in this country on such a point) that the *oldest* building in Toledo is THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE?"*

But while in Spain, or in Southern India, mingled among their brethren the Jews of the dispersion, we can now "see the utmost parts," only, of banished Israel, — in the mountains of Afghánistan or Cabulistan, from of old the land of the ARISTO-PHILI, or *Noble tribes*†, by an

* They who have studied (and what English traveller who deserves the name, has failed diligently to study?) Mr. Murray's "Hand-books," will duly appreciate such a testimony to the antiquity of the Jewish settlement in Toledo.

† It has been objected, we have seen, to the Afghán genealogy, that their own national tradition makes them descendants of Saul, the son of Kish. This, it has been shown, is only a confusion of persons and dates to which all national tradition is liable. It is, however, a curious circumstance, that the notion of Saul belonging to these parts existed, as Ebn Haukal informs us, so far back as the tenth century: speaking of

unparalleled combination of evidences*, we are summoned "to see them all." They are there

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Shehrwerd, a town of the neighbouring province of Irak Agemi, he says, 'Saul (طالوط), the king of the Children of Israel, was of this place."* Is not here the probable source of the Afghán tradition?

* Incidental evidence and confirmation of the existence of Israelite settlements in those parts, of a highly important character, has recently been supplied from an opposite quarter of the East, by one of those Englishwomen of rank, who so often adorn high station by mental culture, and by a spirit of enterprise kindled, by what Dr. Johnson would have characterized as "a wise and noble curiosity." The following extract will explain and justify the commendation:—

"The Samaritan Patriarch next produced *an original letter*, written to them by some Samaritan brethren *in India*, about 160 years ago. The occasion of its being written was this: 160 years ago, an Englishman, of the name of Roberts, informed the Samaritans of Nablous *of the existence of some of their brethren in India*. Upon this, the Nablous Samaritans sent them a copy of the Pentateuch. In return, the Indian Samaritans sent a printed [?] copy of the Pentateuch, in three or four languages, together with the subjoined letter; *both of which were shown to us*. They were obliging enough to send us a copy of this letter, translated into Arabic; Assaad having interpreted it, I give it below.

"'Letter of the Samaritans [or Israelites of India] to those of Nablous:

"'We send our peace, O Israel, our brethren, who dwell in the Holy Land of Canaan. — We have a High Priest full of all learning, honouring the Name of the Most High. He is descended from Phineas, the son of Eleazar; and he dwells in the city of *Aknuz* [a locality and name in India unknown to the Samaritans of Nablous]. He numbers his flock twice a year; and, in this year [1680], their number is 127,968.

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* The name of Saul's Father, again, seems curiously to connect itself with this story, in the denomination كِش, Kish, as the name of a city in the direction of Samarkand. See Ebn Haukal, pp. 259, 260, for a full notice of this city of Sogdiana. Other Israelite names, روبان, *Reuben*, *Jhoudah*, Judah, &c, are clearly traceable along the course of the Oxus, or from the Caspian Sea to the northern boundary line of Afghánistan.

to be seen, by their own witness; they are there to be seen, by the unconscious witness of heathen testimony; they are there to be seen, by the still more sure, though silent, witness of character and countenance, of nature and of name.

The *Levites* are 2600, and they dwell *in seven Provinces*. We are under the Government of the *Afingay* [Q. *Afghans*?]. Every year we pay them, each man, one shekel of the shekels of Jerusalem. The name of the chief we have now, is *Zdud* [*David*?], *of the Tribe of Ashur*; and, for forty years [from circ. 1640], he has dwelt in righteousness, and employed all his energies in preventing evil. He dwells in the city of *Aknuz*, the largest in our country. We have 70 Elders, and I [the Scribe] am one of them; and my name is *Joseph*, the son of *Gilead*, of *the Sons of Nun*. We have Governors, and learned men; and we have twelve Judges. [This part of the letter exactly tallies with the account in the Cochin Roll, from the letter ascribed to Eldad, of the Tribe of Issachar. It is further remarkable, that the chief of these Beni Issachar was styled *Nachson*, being the very title, *nunnated* (i.e. marked with the final *n*), now borne by the chief of the Sheeraunee Afghans, viz. *Neekha*][a] In the time of prayers, we sing hymns, and read *a Chapter of Joshua*, and the Ten Commandments. Send us *the Book of Joshua, the Son of Nun*.'— *Extract from "Journal of a Tour in the Holy Land, by the Lady Frances Egerton,"* p. 52, &c., London, 1841.

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[a] "The chief of the Sheeraunees is called the *Neeka*. He has very great authority in his tribe; which is partly derived from his being the chosen head of the oldest family, and partly from the belief of the Sheeraunees, that he is under the immediate guidance and protection of Providence.

"Though men often redress their own injuries by mere force, yet the *Neeka* is the only regular dispenser of justice. He hears the parties, and after saying a prayer, decides the cause by the inspiration of the Divinity. His order is always obeyed, from the dread of supernatural punishment."— See *Elphinstone*, p. 382. Is there not, in all this, something significantly Israelitish? The name and office of the Necka thus reappears in the Cochin Roll, in the *Nachson*, or Prince and Judge of the Tartar Tribe of Issachar: — Page 31. ויש להם נשיא שומפט ושמו נחשון

Their self-appropriated name of BENI ISRAEEL (a national appellative by which, we have no shadow of reason to doubt, they were, by themselves, always distinguished) is sculptured upon their foreheads, is engraven on their manners, is written in their hearts. No nation under heaven, the Jews themselves alone excepted, could style themselves *Beni Israeel*, with the probabilities, or any approach to the probabilities in favour of their title, possessed by the Afghán tribes. But they do, as doubtless they ever have done, style themselves *Beni Israeel;* and, in circumstances like theirs, and with such a case of evidences as theirs, the assumption of the title is the establishment of the claim.

The theme is one of thrilling interest; for it includes, retrospectively, the whole canon of prophecy, and, prospectively, the consummation of all things. The subject has been entered on in independent cooperation with Sir George Rose's argument: I would close it with the prospect opened in the parting appeal of that truly Christian philosopher, "If it be a matter of imperative duty, and of high interest, to endeavour to promote a right understanding of prophecy, can this be more evident in any case than in that of the restoration of all Israel, and

their conversion to the faith that is in Jesus, when we hear set before us the awful warning of St. Paul, in a chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, the whole of which deserves especial consideration, and which relates to all Israel, contained in the following words (Rom. xi. 15): 'For if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?' Though there is thus signified to us a most fearful intimation, that the faith of the Redeemer shall, at some future period, become almost universally extinct, we are, at the same time, assured, that it shall revive, on the preaching of the Gospel by the Hebrews: of these Hebrews, the Ten Tribes form five-sixth parts. Let us then ask, whether any diligent systematic search has hitherto been made, by the Protestant nations, to discover this hidden, but certainly still existent, people of the Ten Tribes?

"The pretentions exhibited by the Nestorians to be those tribes, will not bear a close examination; still less will those of the North-American Indians do so; and we can hardly treat with gravity the supposition, that the semi-Chinese, semi-Japanese, dwarfish, and flat-nosed inhabitants of the Loo-Choo islands, are the representatives of Ephraim. Yet it has been shown

how long ago the idea was suggested, that the Afghans are the Ten Tribes; and that suggestion has, hitherto, been but superficially inquired into.

"May the hand of Providence lead us to sounder views on this subject, most interesting to the Christian! By him it will be observed, that, in those thus presented, no difficulty appears to occur, unless it be, that they involve a wonderful miracle, in the restoration of the Ten Tribes of Israel* to the land of promise. But whilst this stupendous dispensation will afford to millions [as at the passages of the Red Sea, and of the Jordan] the means of crossing a mighty stream, in such a manner as human means could never accomplish,—it will be in the strictest analogy with the ways of Heaven, with respect to the people of God, when under like circumstances: it is one, moreover, especially calculated to inspire the breasts of the Hebrews with courage, and to terrify their foes.

* Well identified by this writer with the people, and great miracle, predicted in the Apocalypse (Rev. xvi. 12), "And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the East might be prepared." — Compare "The Apocalypse its own Interpreter," p. 32, 8vo, London, Bentley, 1853, — a work characterized by the merits (very rarely united) of a new and original, yet staid and sober, view of the whole scheme and structure of that wonderful book.

"It is not without a peculiar interest that we should behold the waves of the Euphrates; that stream consecrated, by our earliest and holiest recollections, as one of those that issued from the river of the Garden of Eden, survived the destruction of the Deluge, and is yet destined to be the northern boundary of Israel's possessions, —thus opening a willing passage to the ransomed of the Lord, when on [illegible] long-lost inheritance."

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE SEATS OF THE LOST TEN TRIBES.

FINAL NOTE.

Remnant of Israel at Hamadan (the ancient Ecbatana) in Media. Tomb and Character of Esther: from Sir R. K. Porter.

FROM the "Itinerary" of Benjamin of Tudela we glean, incidentally, the important statistical fact, that, in the twelfth century, the single city of Hamadan (by this Jewish voyager denominated Madai) numbered in the census of its inhabitants, a population of no less than fifty thousand Jews. From this numerical phenomenon, coupled with the consideration that Hamadan (now known as the ancient Ecbatana) was one of those "cities of the Medes," among which we know from Scripture the Ten Tribes were dispersed at the period of the Captivity, the learned Bochart has very justly inferred that the Jews here spoken of by Benjamin were no other than a portion of the lost Israelites. To give a fact and inference forming so important a link of evidence in Bochart's own words: "Hæc est illa המראן, *Hamadan* de quâ Benjamin Judæus: *Hæc est Madai, magna illa urbs in quâ sunt Judæorum quinquaginta millia.* Reliquiæ, nisi fallor, *Israëlitarum*, quos in Mediam deportaverat Salmanassar — quos Scriptura

dicit expressè migrasse in Assyriam, et in Medorum urbes.* — 2 *Reg.* 17. 6. and 18. 11.

More than two centuries after Benjamin of Tudela's day, Hamadan was reduced, by the ferocity of Tamerlane, from a still stately city to "a ruinous heap." Yet, in this dismantled and dismembered state, "though dwindled down (as it is described by Sir Robert Kerr Porter) into a mere clay-built suburb of what it was," it still retained, at the time of his visit, proof of the correctness of Benjamin of Tudela's statement, in the existence amidst its population of from forty to forty-five thousand souls, of "about six hundred Jewish families." This Hebrew colony, however small and poor, Porter, like Bochart, judging by the internal evidences of the case, justly regards as a remnant of lost Israel. Without any reference to the authorities here adduced in support of this view (authorities of which he seems to have been unaware), he treats the

* It was only upon consulting Bochart upon this note, that I had the great satisfaction to find myself in perfect agreement with this sacred geographer as to the locality and course of the river Gozan, which he identifies, as I have done independently in my text, with the Cyrus or Kur, and on the same grounds. Bringing the geography of Ptolemy to bear on the Scriptural statement, he then proceeds: — "Maxime cùm in Assyria, vel Mediæ parte illi vicina, reperiantur loca, quorum Sacra Historia meminit, nempe חלח, *Chalach*, חבור, *Chabor*, גוזן, *Gozan*. *Chalach*, est Ptolemæi *Calacheua*, ad aquilonem Assyriæ. *Chabor* est ejusdem Ptolemæi, ὁ Χαβώρας τὸ ὄρος, Mons *Chaboras*, inter Mediam et Assyriam, ubi Tabulæ perperam habent *Choatras*. A quo Monte ad Mare Caspium cùntibus, medio ferè spatio, occurrit *Gauzania* urbs; id est גוזן, *Gozan*, inter duos Cyri alveos; quam [גוזן scil.] regioni et fluvio proximo nomen dedisse verisimile est, ante quam ibi locorum Persæ dominarentur, à quibus *Cyrus* dici cœpit iste amnis, ut vicinus alter Cambyses, in gratiam Cyri et Cambyses." — *Geograph. Sacr.* lib. iii. cap. xiv.

point as one sufficiently established, by the co-existence of Hebrew colonists, Hebrew tradition, and Hebrew monuments, in this appropriate locality. The concurrence of these circumstances self-evidently gives them great reciprocal force: a force which tells with peculiar weight in establishing the authenticity of the monumental remains. This last connecting link, between existing generations and the history of the lost Tribes, has been touched by Sir R. K. Porter with such truth and beauty, that I confer a benefit on the reader, while I gratify myself, by closing these pages with his picture, drawn by a master hand; of

THE TOMB AND CHARACTER OF ESTHER.

"The Jewish part of the inhabitants with whom I conversed, shook their heads at the history of the Judean tomb in the mountain, but entered with a solemn interest into the questions I put to them, respecting the sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai; the dome roof of which rises over the low, dim habitations of the poor remnant of Israel still lingering in the land of their captivity. This tomb is regarded by all the Jews who yet exist in the empire, as a place of particular sanctity; and pilgrimages are still made to it at a certain season of the year, in the same spirit of holy penitence with which, in former times, they turned their eyes towards Jerusalem. Being desirous of visiting a place which Christians cannot view without reverence, I sent to request that favour of the priest under whose care it is preserved. He came to me immediately on my message, and seemed pleased with the respect manifested towards the ancient people of his nation, in the

manner with which I asked to be admitted to their shrine.

"The character of Esther, as it is given in both books that bear her name, has ever appeared to me one of the most lovely pictures of female perfection; a beautiful example of what might be called female heroism, without any of that hardness of mind which gives the idea of an Amazon. In short, she exhibits the most heroic self-devotion, in the cause of her unhappy nation, mixed with all the attractive softness of feminine delicacy and tenderness of heart. She shrinks from the act of exposing her life to the open shame of the violent death she yet steadily resolves to dare, for the purpose of saving her people from the execution of the decree pronounced against them. Thus, with all the natural apprehensiveness of a delicate woman, trembling at the thought of her blood being shed by a private or public executioner, she warns Mordecai of the danger she must incur in preferring her petition. She implores him to pray that the penalty may be averted, while she declares herself determined to run the desperate risk: — 'Go,' said she, 'gather all the Jews that are present in Shushan, and fast ye for me, and neither eat nor drink three days, night or day: I also and my maidens will fast likewise; and so will I go in unto the king, which is not according to the law: and if I perish, I perish.'

"I accompanied the priest through the town, over much ruin and rubbish, to an enclosed piece of ground, rather more elevated than any in its immediate vicinity. In the centre was the Jewish tomb, a square building of brick, of a mosque-like form, with a rather elongated dome at the top. The whole seems in a very decaying state, falling fast to the mouldered condition of some

wall fragments around, which, in former times, had been connected with, and extended the consequence of the sacred enclosure. The door that admitted us into the tomb is, in the ancient sepulchral fashion of the country, very small: consisting of a single stone of great thickness, and turning on its own pivots from one side. Its key is always in possession of the head of the Jews, resident at Hamadan; and doubtless has been so preserved from the time of the holy pair's interment, when the grateful sons of the Captivity, whose lives they had rescued from universal massacre, first erected a monument over the remains of their benefactors, and obeyed the ordinance of gratitude, in making the anniversary of their preservation a lasting memorial of Heaven's mercy, and the just faith of Esther and Mordecai.

" ' So God remembered his people (saving them from the conspiracy of Haman) and justified his inheritance. Therefore these days shall be unto them in the month Adar, the fourteenth and fifteenth day of the same month, with an assembly and joy and with gladness before God, according to the generations for ever among his people.' — *Book of Esther*, c. x. ver. 12, 13.

" The pilgrimage yet kept up is a continuation of this appointed 'assembling.' And thus having existed from the time of the event, such a memorial becomes an evidence to the fact, more convincing perhaps than even written testimony: it seems a kind of eye-witness.

" The original structure, it is said, was destroyed at the sacking of the place by Timour; and soon after that catastrophe, when the country became a little settled, the present unobtrusive building was raised on the original spot. Certain devout Jews of the city stood to the expense; and about one hundred and fifty

years ago (nearly five hundred after its re-erection) it was fully repaired by a rabbi of the name of Ismael.

"On passing through the little portal, which we did in an almost doubled position, we entered a small arched chamber, in which are seen the graves of several rabbis; probably one may cover the remains of the pious Ismael, and not unlikely the others may contain the bodies of the first rebuilders after the sacrilegious destruction by Timour. Having 'trod lightly by their graves,' a second door, of such very confined dimensions, presented itself at the end of this vestibule, we were constrained to enter it on our hands and knees; and then, standing up, we found ourselves in a large chamber, to which appertained the dome. Immediately under its concave stand two sarcophagi, made of very dark wood, carved with great intricacy of pattern and richness of twisted ornament, with a line of inscription, in Hebrew, running round the upper ledge of each. Many other inscriptions, in the same language, are cut on the walls; while one, of the oldest antiquity, engraved on a slab of white marble, is let into the wall itself. The priest assured me it had been rescued from the ruins of the first edifice, at its demolition by the Tartars, and, with the sarcophagi themselves, was preserved on the same consecrated spot. Sedak Beg, who was with me, copied this inscription, with those round the edges of the wooden tombs, and afterwards translated them from the original Hebrew into Persian.

"*Hebrew Inscription on a marble slab in the sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai:*

"'Mordecai, beloved and honoured by a king, was

great and good. His garments were as those of a sovereign. Ahasuerus covered him with his rich dress, and also placed a golden chain around his neck. The city of Susa rejoiced at his honours, and his high fortune became the glory of the Jews.'

"We have an answering account to this in the Book of Esther.

"'Mordecai the Jew was next unto king Ahasuerus, and great among the Jews, and accepted of the multitude of his brethren, seeking the wealth of his people, and speaking peace to all his seed.'—Chap. x. ver. 3.

"'And Mordecai went out from the presence of the king in royal apparel of blue and white, and with a great crown of gold, and with a garment of fine linen and purple: and the city of Shushan rejoiced and was glad.' —*Esther*, chap. viii. ver. 15.

"The above account fully accords with the early custom of the Persian monarchs investing their ministers and favourites with splendid robes, chains, and golden ornaments. Also, from Xenophon's representation, that death would be the punishment of any noble, however illustrious, assuming to himself the royal mixture of purple and white, we may gather the peculiar honour which was now bestowed on Mordecai. The custom of bestowing garments as marks of distinction, it may be remembered, is still maintained in Persia, in the gift of kalauts, or robes of favour.

"The inscription which encompasses the sarcophagus of Mordecai is to this effect:—

"'It is said by David, "Preserve me, O God! I am now in Thy presence. I have cried at the gate of heaven, that Thou art my God; and what goodness have I received from Thee, O Lord!"

"'Those whose bodies are now beneath in this earth, when animated by Thy mercy, were great; and whatever happiness was bestowed upon them in this world came from Thee, O God!

"'Their grief and sufferings were many at the first; but they became happy, because they always called upon Thy holy name in their miseries. Thou liftedst me up, and I became powerful. Thine enemies sought to destroy me in the early times of my life; but the shadow of Thy hand was upon me, and covered me as a tent from their wicked purposes. — MORDECAI.'

"The following is a translation of the inscription carved round the sarcophagus of Esther, the Queen: —

"'I praise Thee, O God, that Thou hast created me! I know that my sins merit punishment, yet I hope for mercy at Thy hands; for, whenever I call upon Thee Thy holy presence secures me from all evil.

"'My heart is at ease, and my fear of Thee increases. My life became, through Thy goodness, at the last full of peace.

"'O God! do not shut my soul out from Thy divine presence! Those whom Thou lovest never feel the torments of hell. Lead me, O merciful Father, to the life of life! that I may be filled with the heavenly fruits of Paradise. — ESTHER.'

"A corresponding sentiment to the substance of these inscriptions may be found in the Apocryphal Book of Esther, in the prayer she puts up immediately before her entrance to the king to prefer her petition: —

"'Queen Esther laid away her glorious apparel, and put on the garments of anguish and mourning; and instead of precious ointment, she covered her head with ashes. And she prayed unto the Lord God of Israel,

saying: "O Lord, Thou only art our King! Help me, desolate woman, who hast no helper but Thee. O Lord, give not thy sceptre to them that be nothing, and let them not laugh at our fall; but turn their device upon themselves, and make him an example that hath begun this against us. Give me eloquent speech in my mouth before the lion; turn his heart to hate him that fighteth against us; but deliver us with Thine hand, and help me that am desolate. Thou knowest all things, O Lord! Thou knowest that I hate the glory of the unrighteous, and abhor the bed of the uncircumcised. Thou knowest my necessity; for I abhor the sign of my high estate, which is upon my head in the day wherein I show myself, and that I wear it not when I am private, by myself. O thou mighty God! hear the voice of the forlorn, and deliver me out of my fear.'

"To this succeeds one of the most exquisite descriptions that ever was given of female loveliness, and in language equalling the beauty of its subject:—

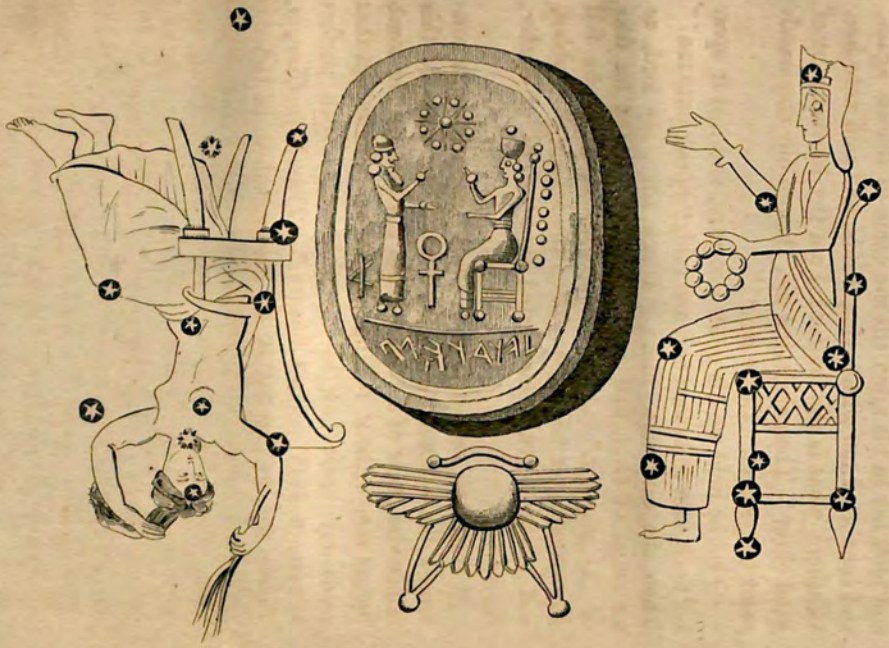
"'And when she had ended her prayer, she laid away her mourning garments. And, being gloriously adorned, she took two maids with her; and upon one she leaned, as carrying herself daintily, and the other followed, bearing up her train. And she was ruddy, through the perfection of her beauty, and her countenance was cheerful and amiable; but her heart was in anguish for fear.

"'Then, having passed through all the doors, she stood before the king, who sat upon his royal throne, and was clothed with all his robes of majesty, all glittering with gold and precious stones; and he was very dreadful. Then, lifting up his countenance, that shone with majesty, he looked very fiercely upon her: and

the queen fell down, and was pale, and fainted, and bowed herself upon the head of the maid that went before her. Then God changed the spirit of the king into mildness, who, in a fear, leaped from his throne, and took her in his arms till she came to herself again, and comforted her with loving words, and said unto her, 'Esther! what is the matter? I am thy brother; be of good cheer! Thou shalt not die, though our commandment be general. Come near!'

"'So he held up his golden sceptre, and laid it upon her neck, and embraced her, and said, "Speak unto me!" Then she said unto him: "I saw thee, my lord, as an angel of God, and my heart was troubled for fear of thy majesty." And as she was speaking, she fell down again, for faintness. Then the king was troubled, and all his servants comforted her.'—*A. B. of Esther*, ch. xv.

"With the sacred volume in my hands, which contained these accounts of the devoted goodness of this fairest daughter of Israel, I could not look on her tomb before me, without feeling an awe and admiration that made my heart bow to the memory of such perfect virtue, in such perfect beauty."—*Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c., &c., by Sir R. K. Porter*, vol. ii. p. 105.



AN

APPENDIX

TO

THE MONUMENTS OF ASSYRIA, BABYLONIA, AND PERSIA.

ALPHABET OF THE NIMROUD OBELISK.

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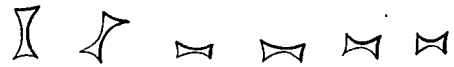
H 

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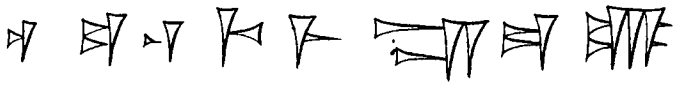
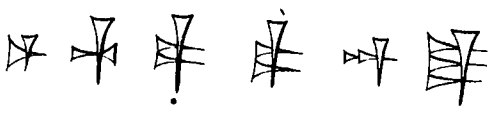
R 

T 

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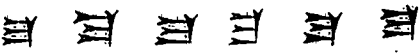
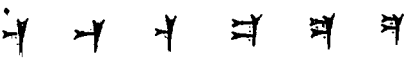
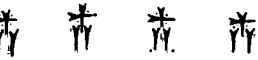
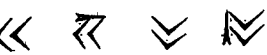
Ā 

R 

T 

M 

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Day & Son Lith. to the Queen

PLATE IX.—SPECIMENS FROM THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTIONS. Col. I. ll. 39—48.

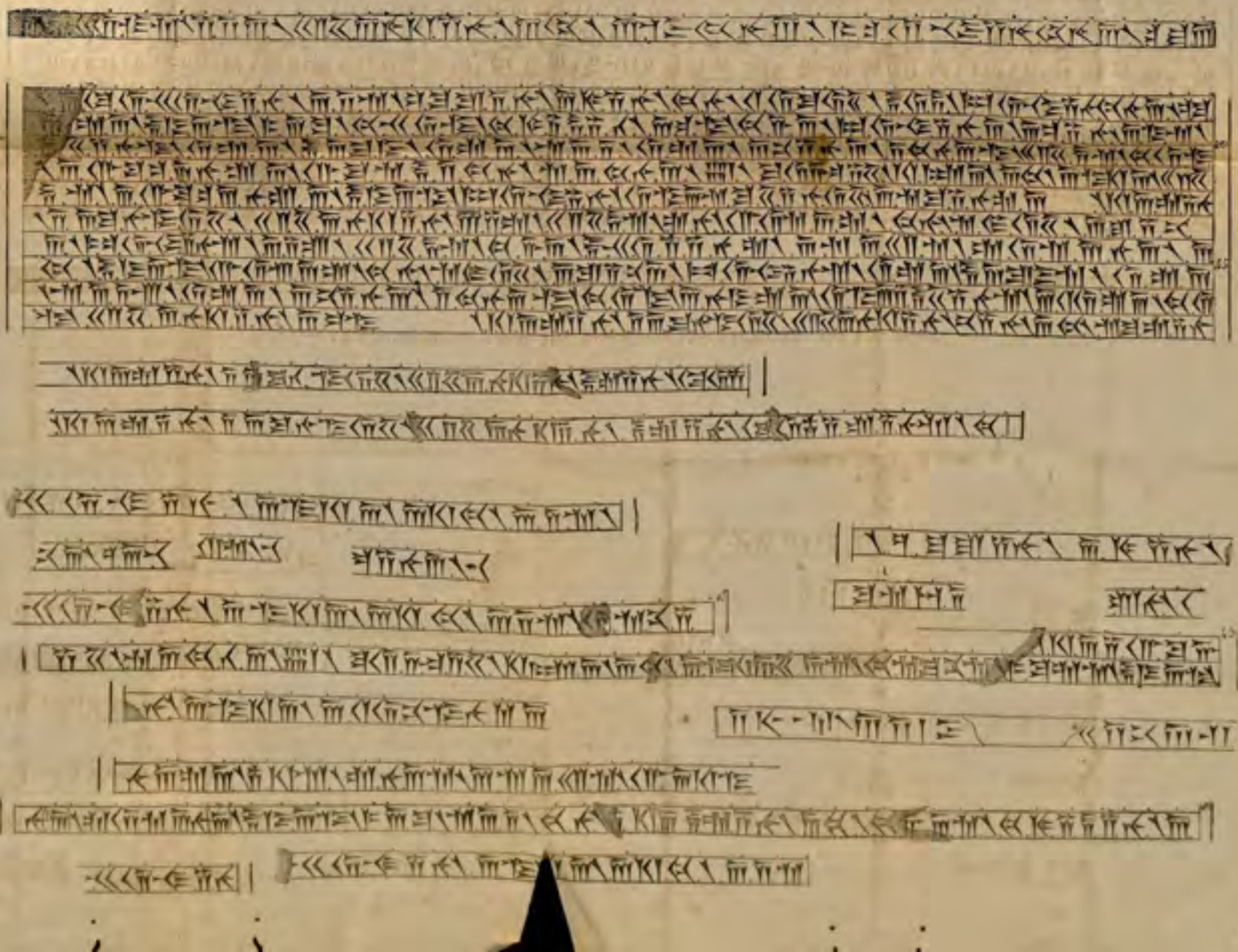

PLATE X.—SPECIMENS FROM THE BEHISTU[N] INSCRIPTIONS. Col. I. ll. 76—83.

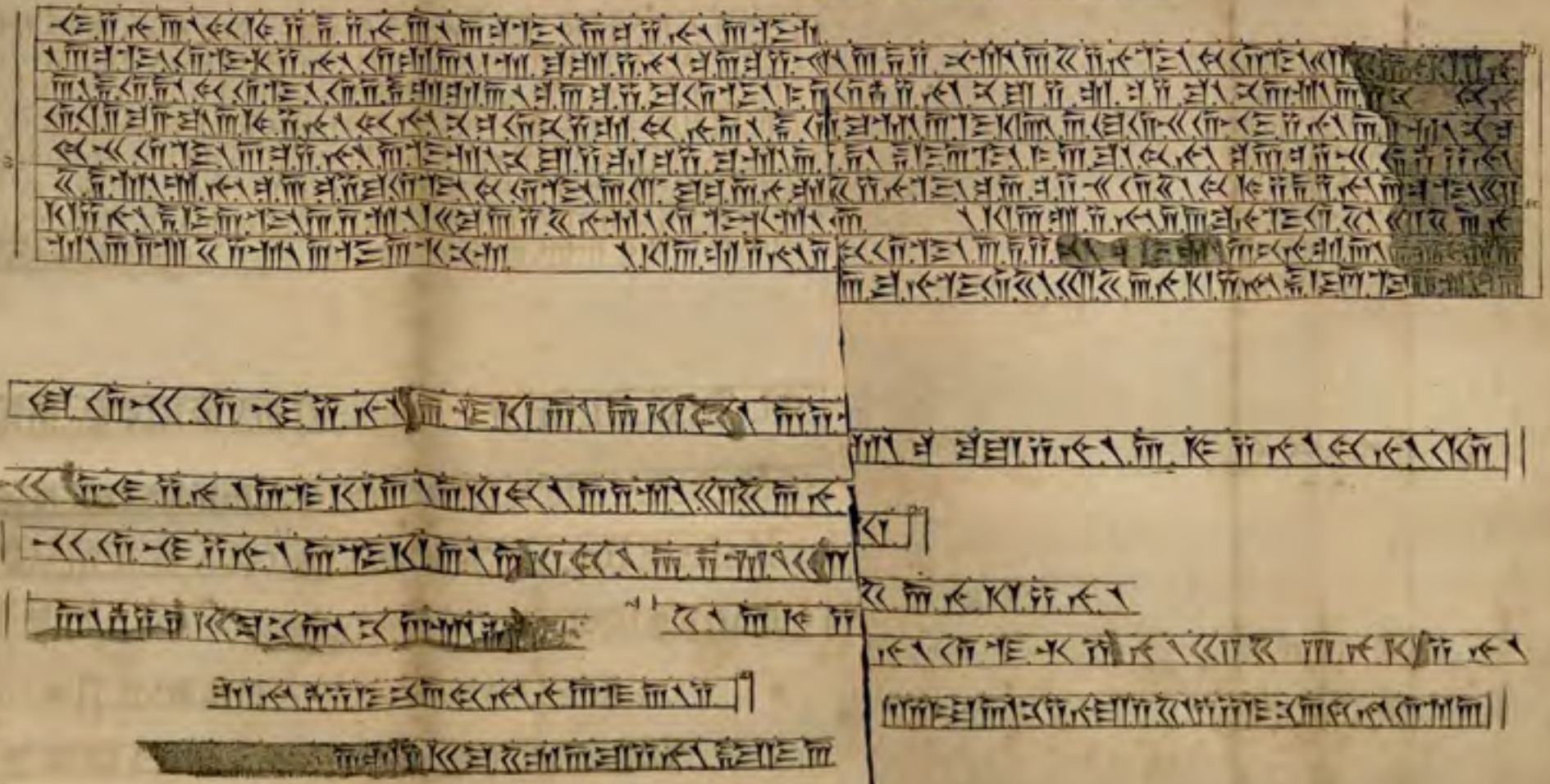

PLATE XI.—Col. IV. last line.

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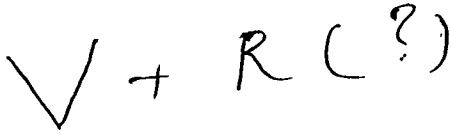

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